C. NEPOS, *Veronenſis.*

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THE LIVES OF ILLUSTRIOUS MEN.

Written in *Latin*
BY
CORN. NEPOS,
AND
Done into *English*
BY
SEVERAL HANDS.

OXON,
Printed for HEN. CRUTTENDEN, and are to be Sold by *ANTH. STEPHENS*, Bookseller near the *Theater*, 1684.

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Octob. 9. 1683.

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To the Right Honourable

JAMES

EARL of ABBINGDON,

Lord Lieutenant

OF THE

County of OXFORD, &c.

MY LORD,

THESE Lives of *Cornelius Nepos*, which I now Preſent your Lordſhip in *Engliſh*, have had the good Fortune to ſurvive in their Original (the *Latin*) ſeventeen hundred years: And tho the Obſervation of the Excellent Lord *Bacon* be very Ingenious, *That Time is like a*

River, which bears up the Stubble and ſuch light things, but lets the more weighty and ſubſtantial ſink; yet muſt this be taken for a Similitude, and as ſuch is only applicable to the Abuſes which the Authority of precedent Ages, as well as other Humane Concerns, is and may be ſubject to. For to ſuppoſe, that thoſe things which have paſt the Teſt of the wiſeſt and ſevereſt Ages, have at laſt nothing of intrinſic value in themſelves, but owe the long poſſeſſing of Fame to a Hit of Fortune, to the Humour or tame Obſequiouſneſs of a long Succeſſion of Admirers, is ſo bold an Attempt upon the Reaſon of Mankind, that he that makes it *muſt either have much of the God, or a great deal of the*

the Fool; By invincible Argument to demonſtrate the Miſtakes of the Learned World in all its Stages, requires a Soul of a Divine Perſpicacity, clear from thoſe Incumbrances that have miſguided the Proſpect of other Mortals. To oppoſe a ſingle capricious Opinion to the collected Force of ſo many Men's Judgment, looks like the Hero in the Play, or the Knight-Errant in the Romance; who with two Legs and two Arms, Fights and Routs whole Millions. I do not (My Lord) Apologize for our Author, as if He need beg a Bleſſing from Antiquity, or wanted the Teſtimonials of Precedent Ages to ſupport his Credit; had he been Written in this time He is Tranſlated, there is worth e-

nough in Him to recommend Him to all Lovers of Hiſtory. *Cornelius Nepos* Liv'd in an Age, that had the greateſt Taſte of Good Senſe of any poſſibly ſince the Creation. Eloquence did not then conſiſt in the gaudy Trimming of Metaphors, or the forc'd acuteneſs of a ſhort cut Period, but Good Senſe naturally and cleanly Expreſs'd, was the Language *Auguſtus* and his Court incourag'd. Our Author cannot indeed pretend to the Politeneſs of *Cicero*, but yet He has nothing but what is Manly and Strong; and if my weak Judgement informs me right, there runs through his Writings a Gentile Vein of ſpeaking unaffectedly, which declares Him a Man remov'd above the *Pedant* or *Plebeian*.

Here

Here it muſt be Confeſt, He is now and then rough in the Period, and negligent in the Expreſſion; but the judicious *Quintilian* allows this to be ſometimes a Beauty; and 'tis the opinion of moſt Critics, that if there be any fault in *Tully* himſelf, 'tis that He is too Set and Formal in his Stile. There are ſome Faces that are very exact in the Symmetry of their Parts, and the mixture of Colour, and yet they are not pleaſing; While on the other Hand, there are others in which Nature ſeems to have made agreeable Miſtakes; Eloquence is only the Beauty of Language. in which a too formal obſervance of Exactneſs is diſguſtful. There is as much difference between the Gentile practiſe of

Rhetorick, and the heavy Regularity that arises purely from the attendance upon its Rules, as there is between the Gentile Address of a Gentleman, and the fulsome Compliment of a School-Master. Such is his Stile, that it seems to give *Cornelius Nepos* a pretence to the Patronage of your Lordship, whose Ancestors have reflected greater Honor upon Learning and Learned Societies, than They could ever receive from them. 'Tis in the Great Name of the *Bartus*, we meet the two greatest Ornaments of Mankind conjoyn'd, Learning and Nobility; and in that Generous Noble Blood, not only Honor, but Wisedome are convey'd. The reason *Petronius Arbiter* gives, why

why good Senſe and true Reaſon were in his Age in the decline, is, *Becauſe every Man muſt fiſh with ſuch baits he thinks will take*, but ſays the ſame Ingenious Author, *We have loſt the generous Palate*; Had your Lordſhip Liv'd in that time, there could have been no occaſion for this general Complaint. In your Lordſhip a *Virgil* or a *Horace* might have found an *Agrippa* or *Mæcenas*, who did not only receive the Compliments of thoſe Great Men, but underſtood their Worth. Our Author has in ſhort drawn the Greateſt Heroes that *Athens*, *Sparta*, *Thebes*, *Corinth*, and even *Afric* it ſelf could boaſt, and 'tis to Him that *Rome* does owe its *Atticus*. It often happens, that a

Prince

Prince is better repreſented by his Coyns, then by his Statues; ſo without detracting from the juſt praiſe of others, *Nepos* may poſſibly give as lively an Idea of an *Alcibiades* or *Themiſtocles*, as thoſe who have drawn out their Deſcriptions to a greater length; For as in Mens Faces, ſo in their Actions, there are certain peculiar Airs that diſtinguiſh one from another; if you hit theſe, you give the Character as effectually, as if your Canvaſs was as large as the Object, and you took in every Hair. The deſign of Hiſtory is to inſtruct by Example, and Correct the Infirmities of Life; to Trace out the Roads by which Great Men arriv'd at Fame, and the Rocks they have ſplit againſt. All the reward

reward We can pay to defunct Virtue, is a grateful Remembrance of it, and Vice is a Deteſtation to Poſterity. *Phocion's* Beneficence will be an Eternal Monument: *Eumenes* his unſhaken Loyalty to the Poſterity of his Prince will never be forgotten: And *Alcibiades* his tender Paſſion to an ungrateful Country, will laſt as long as Senſe remains in the World. Such Examples may afford Your Lordſhip's leiſure Hours a Divertiſement, but cannot pretend to Direct. The Hiſtory of your own Family is a Treaſure of Greatneſs and Bravery, which affords Inſtances (of both Sexes) for every Virtue and Duty of Life. And here we cannot enough Admire the inimitable Gallantry of *Katharine*

rine Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, whoſe Zeal to the Proteſtant Religion at leaſt came up to the Example of the moſt Primitive Confeſſors; who ſupported all the Variety of Her numerous Afflictions with the Meekneſs of Her own Sex, and the Courage of Ours: While every Country prov'd more Hoſpitable to that Admirable Lady than Her own; and Foreign Nations thought themſelves oblig'd to Reverence that Virtue which we could not Bear. Nor need I inſtance in thoſe Heroes of your Family, to whoſe Noble Atchievments the Great *Henry* of *France* was ſo highly obliged, and the *Dutch* owe ſo great a part of their Liberty. Nor perhaps was the very attempt of Civilizing *Ire-*

land

land an undertaking of leſs Gallantry and Spirit, ſince 'tis eaſier to Create then Reſtore. When at length the unhappineſs of an Headſtrong Nation recall'd them from Forreign to Domeſtick Wars, with how much Courage, how much Loyalty did the Heroick *Lindſey* eſpouſe his Royal Maſters Intereſt! He deſpiſed both the Allurements and Forces of a Faction, then almoſt Irreſiſtable, and receiv'd the Aſſaults of the Rebellious Army, as unmov'd as an *Iſthmus* does the ſhock of conteſting Waves. He oppos'd his Perſon to the moſt eminent Dangers in the Defence of oppreſs'd Majeſty, and dyed like one that had a true value for Life, and knew how advantageouſly a few minutes

nutes of Life were chang'd for an Immortality of Fame.

To be Nobly Born is (My Lord) queſtionleſs one of the greateſt worldly Happineſſes kind Heaven beſtows; and Nature for ſeveral Ages ſeems to prepare and refine the Blood of a Family, that She may at laſt work out and introduce one Perfectly Great Man. That this is Your Lordſhips Caſe we have reaſon to beleive, in whom all the Virtues that are thriftily divided amongſt others, are United. Well then may *Cornelius Nepos* be Proud of Your Lordſhip's Name to Lead up his Heroes, and protect thoſe that were, while they liv'd, the Patriots of their Country.

Each Virtue takes its proportion from the Exigences of time and

and Place. He that ſtands upon the ſecure Shore, and undauntedly views the ungovern'd rage of the Ocean, does not, on this account, deſerve the Praiſe of a Valiant Man; but He is the Maſter of true Courage, that all the time ſedately ſtemms the Ship; endeavors to be ſafe, yet fears not to meet Death in its moſt dreadful ſhape. Amongſt the polluted ſpawn of Pamphlets which have crawl'd about during this Ferment of the Government, there have been a few who have compared it to a Ship toſs'd by dangerous Waves. Let the deſign of theſe Parable-Makers be what it will (as in moſt of them it has been bad enough) yet the ſimilitude is to the purpoſe; and Your Lordſhip has

has had no ſmall ſhare in preſerving this leaky Veſſel from Deſtruction. 'Tis an obſervation too well known among Politicians, *That the Virtue of a Prince may ſometimes turn to his Deſtruction*; of which we have had a ſad Example in the Bleſſed Martyr *Charles* the Firſt, *Who Suffer'd, and Dyed for being Good*; *and the ſame Jews that acted that ſad Tragedy, deſigned a ſecond upon the Son of his Loyns and Inheritor of His Vertues*; As if they were reſolv'd by repeated Experiences, to revoke that Axiom of the Moraliſts, *That the Natural effect of Benevolence and Goodneſs, even in this World, is a reciprocal Love and Felicity*; and ſo it is in all except the Fanatick, whom both the Father and Grand-

Grandfather of our Gracious Prince, aſſures Us, *that no Benefit can oblige.* And really the Fanatick is no more to be comprehended within the general Rules of Reaſon than the Brute; becauſe as this acts according to the inſtinct of its Nature, which often carries it contrary o the principles of a Rational Creature, ſo the Fanatick is moved by the giddy Impulſe of *Enthuſiaſm*, which has abundance of more points then the Compaſs. This is that Monſter who ever ſince His Majeſties Happy, Happy Reſtoration, has endeavour'd to lay an open and eaſie way to the Deſtruction of the Government, by endeavouring by their unreaſonable Calumnies to make the chief Miniſters of It Contemptible to the

People. They have been indeed, like cunning Artiſts, a long while heating and preparing the matter; and in Seventy-eight, when they found the Bent and Byaſs of the People work'd into a Temper, then it was, that *Corah* ſhew'd Himſelf and pronounc'd, *That the Prince and the Prieſt had conſpir'd together againſt our Liberty.* This carry'd on under ſpecious pretences, put the People into a fit of down right Madneſs, and when the Zealous Alarum was made on that ſide of the imaginary point of the Compaſs whence Popery was to come, the Fanatick had juſt planted his Colours on the contrary part of our City. 'Tis enough to confound a Man and make Him (if poſſible) to forſwear being in the ſame Claſs of Nature

Nature with theſe ſort of Animals, to conſider the unaccountable Whims in their Proceedings. All that dyed for Dr. *Titus* his Plot with their laſt breath aſſerting their Innocence were not believ'd, becauſe, *Popery allow'd Diſpenſations for Lying, and could eaſily elude, not only the Dictates of* Chriſtianity *but of Nature too*; And now it comes to the Fanaticks turn to Hang, one would think on ſuch an occaſion they ſhould not only ſing *Hopkins* very heartily, but ſpeak true too; and yet all theſe unfortunate Gentlemen that dy'd, having, in part at leaſt, acknowledg'd the matter of Fact for which they were Condemn'd, tho they ſeem to deny the Guilt of it, the Brethren matter it not; and yet could theſe beleive, that

a Mad-man with a Fire-ball upon a pole, ſet *London* into flames.

My Lord, we had felt the diſmal effects of this mixture of Villany and Madneſs, had not the moſt Wiſe Conduct of His *MAJESTY* (aſſiſted by ſuch Loyal and Courageous Hands as Your Lordſhips) deliver'd Us from the Dreadful Precipice, which we ſaw and trembled at. The Fable of the Viper, which the kind Country-man having warm'd into Life, ſtung its Benefactor, was by Antiquity thought to expreſs Ingratitude in its higheſt Extent. The Faction outgoe this; They hiſs at and wound a Prince, who is not only ſo far their Redeemer, as that He reſtor'd them to Life *when they were Dead in Law and Juſtice*, but ſhew'd Himſelf

of

of that Forbearance and Clemency, that He ſeem'd to deliberate whither he had beſt revenge their Inſolence, or fall Himſelf. Such extraordinary Goodneſs deſerv'd the Expence of all the Miracles Heaven could lay out for its Deliverance!

We who are happy in living near Your Lordſhip, felt the warm Influence; The ſame Plague of Republican Principl e, which had infected the Capital City of this Fortunate Iſland had gain'd too great a Party among the Citizens of this place. The very Men that eat Our Bread were keenly prepar'd to have invaded thoſe Sacred Seats which ſupport them, and have continually reſcued both them and their Predeceſſors from Beggary. Affronts are not to be meaſur'd

by

by the real Loſs we undergo, but that uneaſineſs of Spirit they bring upon the Men that ſuffer them; To be ſlighted by a Superior is a thing we may calmly (tho with ſome grief) ſubmit to; to be neglected, contemn'd, and trod upon by an Inferior, who depends upon Us for his very Breath, is ſo inſufferable Uſage that nothing but the Meekneſs of a Primitive Confeſſor could forgive it. And how have the Gownsmen deſerv'd this? *Becauſe we are Popiſhly affected, by Religiouſly obſerving the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; becauſe we were Pentioners of* France, *and undermin'd the Fundamental Laws of the Nation, by aſſerting one of the moſt Sacred Eſſentials of the Government, the* LINEAL SUCCESSION, *which could neither by the*

the Diſpenſation of a Pope or the Power of Parliament be alter'd. Your Lordſhip (tho Perſonally Affronted by this ingrateful illiterate Society) durſt ſtemm this Torrent, which threatned an eaſie Ruin to all its Oppoſers; and poſſibly, that the very Brutes that graze and fatten upon the Hill of *Parnaſſus*, have not made Food of Us its Inhabitants, is in no ſmall meaſure due to Your Lordſhips Care. Which the Ingenious Gentlemen concern'd in this Tranſlation (who did me the Honor to Commiſſion me, tho of all Men the moſt unfit, to recommend it to Your Lordſhips Patronage) do gratefully acknowledge; and it was not the vanity of having a Name prefix'd to two or three Leaves *done into Engliſh* that prompted

prompted them to joyn in this ſmall concern, but the deſire they had to make a publick Reſentment of thoſe many Favours Your Lordſhip has been pleaſed to beſtow upon this Our Sacred Learned *Athens*.

And now having Executed my Commiſſion to the utmoſt of my ſmall Abilities, I muſt not in good manners trouble Your Lordſhip any further then to beg leave to aſſure You, that I am with all imaginable Reſpect,

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhip's

Obliged Humble Servant

LEOPOLD WILLIAM FINCH.

Dr Gibbons is Author of the life of C. Nepos

THE LIFE OF CORN. NEPOS.

THere is no part of Human Learning ſo univerſally Advantageous to Mankind, as Hiſtory. It reſcues our Anceſtors from Oblivion; It can Inſtruct and Delight the Preſent and Future Ages. We are oblig'd by all the Laws of Natural Religion, to preſerve our Relations as long as poſſibly we can: Even then when their Lives are ſcarce worth the keeping, when Old Age has render'd them uſeleſs both in Public and Private Capacities, by the nauſeous Methods of Phyſick,

ſick, we endeavour to keep them among us. And certainly our Piety ſhould not end at the Grave; but employ it ſelf in ſecuring all that remains of them. Urns and Pyramids can only preſerve their Aſhes; which are, even to the moſt curious Obſerver, undiſtinguiſhable from thoſe of other Men. Pictures and Medals repreſent only their outward Lineaments; which are often not unlike in Fools and Wiſe-men. But Hiſtory gives an Account of their Nobler Parts; their Wit, their Learning, and their Virtue: And the Reader hath, what will be no inconſiderable part of our Happineſs in the other World, the Converſation of all the Great and Good Men of paſt Ages.

And

And their Examples will prove to him far greater Incentives to Virtue than all the grave and ſerious Precepts of Philoſophers. They aſſume to themſelves the Boldneſs and Majeſty of a Legiſlator, lay down rigid and ſevere Rules of Life, treat us with jejune and abſtracted Notions, which few Perſons can underſtand, much leſs deduce to practice: But the the force of Example is intelligible to the meaneſt Capacities. We Read, and Admire; and, having naturally an Itch after Glory, purſue the ſame Methods our Forefathers ſo ſucceſsfully proceeded in.

But tho Hiſtory in General be ſo Pleaſant and Inſtructive, yet certainly Biography is more

Eminently ſo. The General Hiſtorian is wholly taken up in giving the Relations of Great and Glorious Exploits; of the Riſe and Fall of Empires and Great Men. You have *Alexander* at the *Granic*, and *Ceſar* in the Fields of *Pharſalia*: But an account of their daily Converſation, of the Menage of their Eſtate, their Behaviour to their Friends and their Family, their Government of their own Paſſions, is below the Dignity of the Subject; and if the Author ſhould oblige us by an uſeful Digreſſion (it may be, of more real Advantage than the whole Series of the Hiſtory) it would be call'd by the Men of Art, an impertinent Excreſcence; and the whole Work be eſteem'd

Mon-

Monſtrous, that in one part ſo ſwells beyond the lawful proportion. As the poor Poet is Damn'd in *Horace*, that becauſe he had got a delicate Deſcription of the *Rhine*, was reſolv'd to inſert it into his Poem, tho wholly impertinent to his Deſign.

Yet certainly the Hiſtory of theſe Actions, tho of a meaner nature, is infinitely more uſeful. The other, 'tis true, are more Heroical and Illuſtrious, extremely fit objects for our Admiration, but uſually unimitable. They do indeed raiſe our Attention; but then they debauch our Reaſon: For, as the Stomachs of thoſe who have indulg'd themſelves in the uſe of Spirituous Liquors, can after-

wards admit of no wholeſom Diet: So, after theſe Miraculous Accounts of Knights and Giants, all ſober and ſound Senſe proves Nauſeous to us.

In the General Hiſtory, we ſee the Hero at the Head of an Army, or in a Triumph; but by what Steps and Degrees he rais'd Himſelf to this Greatneſs, we are unacquainted with; which would yet more improve and delight the Reader. The Acquiſition of Glory, is like that of Money: The greateſt Art conſiſts in getting a Stock at firſt; which afterwards, if manag'd with an ordinary Prudence, encreaſes prodigiouſly.

Biography is indeed of a limited and confin'd Nature; ſince it reſpects only the Actions

ons of particular Perſons, and is not oblig'd to give the whole Proceſs of an Expedition. And therefore, ſince the *Mithridatic* War was manag'd by *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, and *Pompey*, ſucceſſively, an accurate Deſcription of it is not to be expected from the Biographer. But then the General Hiſtorian is as imperfect in the Lives of particular Perſons; takes them only as they fall in his way, and cannot inſiſt long upon them, without tranſgreſſing the Laws of a Methodical Hiſtory. But the Biographer attends his Hero from the Cradle to the Throne: Shews him at firſt, it may be, mean and contemptible, deſpis'd and depreſs'd, till at laſt by Vertue and Induſtry he breaks thro

all Impediments, and in deſpite of Envy and Detraction, mounts Himſelf above his peeviſh Enemies. He accompanies him in his Retirements, gives his Carriage to his Friend and Relations, acquaints you with his Divertiſements, lays aſide the State and Grandeur, the Pomp and Parade, draws the Scene, and ſhews you the Man himſelf, diveſted of his Gaudy or Formal Dreſs. And then, whereas the General Hiſtorian, like a falſe Courtier, takes notice of him only in his Greatneſs; and when he becomes unfit for Service in the Camp or the Senate (as ſome ill Maſters do their worn-out Servants) deſerts him; Biography ſtill waits upon him, tho diſcarded the Court; and tells you

you with what Courage and good Grace he bears the Affronts of his ungrateful Country-men, his Sickneſs, and Death it ſelf. Which certainly (unleſs you read Hiſtory as Ladies do Romances) you would as willingly be inform'd of, as his Gallantry in the hotteſt Engagement. 'Twere eaſie to enlarge upon this ſubject, were I to write a Panegyric of Biography, and not the Life of a particular Hiſtorian.

Among Authors of this Nature, there is ſcarce any ſo conſiderable as *C. Nepos*; who has had the good Fortune to pleaſe the moſt Judicious Critics of all Ages; but in this is ſtrangely unhappy, That having been ſo induſtrious in Immortalizing other

other Men, and having wrote a particular Volume of the Lives of Hiſtorians, he himſelf has been almoſt forgotten, and we have very little left us concerning him. Nay, and to add to the Misfortune, even this very Treatiſe, of the Lives of Excellent Generals, which is the only one left us of his numerous Writings, hath by ſome very ill Judges been attributed to an obſcure perſon, one *Æmilius Probus*, who liv'd in the Barbarous Age of *Theodoſius*. But of this below.

He was born in *Hoſtilia*, a Village depending upon *Verona*; whereof *Pliny*, *Antonine* in his Itinerary, *&c.* make mention; and is at this day ſubject to the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction of *Verona*. *Verona* lies near the *Po*; upon

upon which account *Pliny* calls our Author *Padi Accola*: It is ſituated likewiſe in that part of *Italy* which the *Romans* (for to us 'tis otherwiſe) call'd *Italia Tranſpadana*, that part of *Italy* which is on the other ſide the *Po*: So that *Catullus*, in his Dedication of his Excellent Poems to *C. Nepos*, might very juſtly call him an *Italian*. But becauſe the ſame Country was call'd *Gallia Togata* (or that part of *Gall* wherein Gowns, the *Roman* Habit, were worn, in oppoſition to *Gallia Braccata*, ſo nam'd from the Garments of the Barbarous Inhabitants) *Auſonius*, alluding to *Catullus's* foremention'd Epigram, tells his *Pacatus*, That he had found a more Learn'd and Obliging Patron than

than *Gall* furniſh'd *Catullus* with. But theſe two Poets may be eaſily reconcil'd, conſidering that the ſame place was, with different reſpects, reckon'd part both of *Gall* and *Italy*. Now, that *Nepos* was a *Veroneſe*, was the conſtant opinion of that City, where in the Senate-Houſe his Statue was erected among thoſe of the Illuſtrious Men born there. *Elios Vinetus* would indeed perſwade us, that there is nothing of certainty when *Nepos* was born; but beſides the conſtant Tradition of the City of *Verona*, and that his Statue was plac'd among thoſe of the *Veronian* Writers, (which certainly would ſatisfie any man of a tolerable ingenuity) we have the Authority of *Leander*, *Albertus*,

tus, *Paulus Merula*, and of the Learn'd and Illuſtrious *Alexander Becellus*, Chancellor of *Verona*.

The Territories of *Verona* enjoy a delicate thin Air; the Soil as healthful, as well water'd, and ſupply'd with Fruits of all kinds, as moſt places in the World; as if it were deſign'd by Nature for the Country of Great and Witty Men. 'Tis not impoſſible for a great Genius to proceed from an unhealthy and boggy Soil, where the Air as well as Water ſtagnates, and is corrupted: But 'tis very improbable there ſhould. *Plutarch* and *Pindar* were born in *Bœotia*, but not one eminent Writer more, as we hear of. *Eraſmus* came from *Rotterdam*; and yet the greateſt

Judg

Judg of the laſt Age was pleas'd to ſay of *Gretſer*, *'Tis a Witty Man for a German.* And if we conſider the dependance which our Souls have upon our Bodies, as to their operations, we need not wonder, that thick and foggy Airs ſhould ſo ſeldom be bleſs'd with extraordinary Men. 'Tis certainly a mighty Advantage to be Born in a place eminent for Wit and Learning; where great Examples daily appear before us, and raiſe in us a generous Emulation to equal or ſurpaſs them. Upon this account it is, that Cities have become famous for ſome particular Excellence; and Wit, as ſome Herbs, if once rooted in a ground, cannot without difficulty be got out. *Verona* has indeed

indeed produc'd as great Wits, and as Learn'd Men in all Faculties, as any City perhaps in the World. Here were born the two *Plinies*, *Macer* the Botanic Poet, *Vitruvius* the Architect, and (in a later Age) that Prodigy of Wit and Learning *Hieronymus Fracaſtorius*, the beſt Phyſitian, Mathematician, and Poet of his Age.

As *Nepos* was Born in a Place famous for polite Learning, ſo likewiſe in an Age when Wit and Elegance of Stile were advanc'd to their utmoſt perfection; in that Age which the Critics call, *The Golden Age of Eloquence*. There is no queſtion, but *Junius* the Rebel, *M. Valerius* the Dictator, *Menenius Agrippa*, ſo famous for Reconciling the

the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, did make Orations to the People; tho not ſo fine ones as Hiſtorians aſcribe to them. They were certainly Men of incomparable Valour and of ſound Senſe; but they had only a good unpoliſh'd rough Eloquence, and with that attain'd their Ends upon a People rude and illiterate; and wanted only a *Grecian* Education, to render 'em the greateſt Wits in their Age. But as the *Roman* Empire began to extend it ſelf into *Greece*, and People admir'd the Oratory of that Nation, the *Roman* Language was daily refin'd. It at firſt became neat and clean, the Words and Phraſes proper and eaſie, not florid, much leſs ranting and fuſtian. This is that which is ſo admirable in the

the ancient Comedies, of which *Plautus* and *Terence* are the only now left us; which as *Scaliger* well obſerves, our misfortunes have endear'd to us; we admire them the more, becauſe we have none elſe left us to admire. In the Eloquence of that Age, there was nothing affected, nothing of Paint and Daubing, but pure Natural Beauty, undebauch'd, and preferable upon account of its Native ſimplicity to all the ſwelling Rhetoric of ſome after Ages. But at laſt the *Roman* ſtyle was Illuſtrated with Tropes and Figures; which, if Modeſtly made uſe of, are the real Ornaments of a ſtyle, but if us'd with Imprudence, become nauſeous, and more like the Sayings of a Mad-man than an

Orator. In this Golden Age, the *Romans* had rais'd themſelves to the utmoſt pitch, they had gone as far as Prudence would permit them; which when their immediate Succeſſors endeavour'd to ſurpaſs, they ſwell'd into Bombaſt, and their Wit was more like an Hydropic Tumor, than a Natural Plumpneſs. The *Spaniards* brought this diſeaſe of ſtyle into *Italy*; and *Cicero* in his Oration for *Archios* the Poet, expoſes the Barbarous and Greaſie Wit of that Nation. And yet there are ſome Men who compare and prefer *Martial* to *Catullus*, between whom there is as wide a difference, as betwixt the ſordid Drollery of a Buffoon and the Ingenious Raillery of a Gentleman. They have had a

greater

greater eſteem for the Heat of *Lucan*, than the juſt Greatneſs of *Virgil*. But the beſt Judges rather pity theſe miſtaken Gentlemen, that diſpute with them.

Now to be conſiderable in ſuch an Age as this, to be infinitely eſteem'd and Careſs'd by the greateſt Perſons in it; is an infallible Argument of the real Excellence of an Author. When *Cicero*, *Catullus*, *Atticus*, *&c.* appear as Witneſſes, it muſt needs be a vile *Ignoramus* Jury that will not find the Bill. *Catullus*, the moſt accurate and delicate Epigrammatiſt that ever writ, dedicated his Poems to him. *Cicero* was his moſt intimate and boſom Friend; there was a conſtant Intercourſe of Letters betwixt them. *Sueton* in his Life

of *Julius Ceſar* takes notice of a Letter from *Cicero* to *Nepos*, and *Lactantius* quotes an Epiſtle of *Nepos* to *Tully*. Nay their Epiſtolary Commerce was ſo great, that *Macrobius* makes mention of the ſecond Book of Epiſtles from *Tully* to *Nepos*. His intimacy with *Atticus* is evident from the Life of *Atticus*, here annex'd to his Lives of Excellent Generals; for *Atticus* himſelf was ſo far from being one, that he never engag'd in the War either for *Cæſar* or *Pompey*, and yet had the good Fortune (which I beleive very few of that Humour ever met with) to be Honour'd, eſteem'd, and unmoleſted thro the whole courſe of his Life.

He left many Learned and Curious Works behind him, which

which the injury of time hath depriv'd us of; and we have only juſt enough left us to ſee the greatneſs of our loſs in the reſt. He was Author of a Book, which he call'd his Chronicle, wherein (in three diſtinct Volumes) he gave an account of thoſe three great Intervals of time, which Hiſtorians ſo much talk of, The Obſcure and Uncertain, the Fabulous, and the Hiſtorical Ages of the World. As to the firſt and ſecond, *Tertullian* informs us, that *Nepos* affirms, there never was any *Saturn* but what was a Man; and *Auſonius* tells his Pupil the Emperor, that he ſent him *Titianus*'s Fables, and *Nepos*'s Chronicles, which were not much unlike 'em; and *Catullus* in his Preface

to his Poems, tells us, that *Nepos* did *Omne Ævum tribus explicare chartis.*

Beſides this great Work, he writ the Lives of Illuſtrious Men, of which twenty-two, which reſpect the *Grecians* and *Barbarians*, are tranſmitted to us; and likewiſe the Lives of the *Roman* Hero's (as is evident from his Life of *Hannibal*) and the *Roman* Kings. But what thro the Invaſion of Forreign Nations, and the Ignorance and careleſsneſs of Superſtitious Monks, who let them ly and rot unobſerv'd in their Libraries, we have only their Titles from other Authors, which had the good fortune to ſurvive. *Æmilius Probus* hath by ſome Critics bin ſuppos'd to be the Author of the Lives of Forreign

reign Generals; But 'tis a palpable miſtake occaſion'd by an Epigram prefix'd to ſome antient Manuſcripts of this Author, wherein *Probus* commands his Book, if the Emperor *Theodoſius* enquire after the Author, to tell Him it is one *Probus*. But then it follows, *Corpore in hoc manus eſt Genetricis Avique Meique, viz.* that his own hand, his Mothers, and Grandfathers were concern'd in the work. Whence 'tis clear beyond contradiction, that this *Probus* was only a Tranſcriber. Beſides, can *Robortellus* who writ a Treatiſe of the Art of Criticiſm, or any Man of common Learning and Senſe, perſwade himſelf, that this wretched Poet could be the Author of this moſt delicate and

Judicious peice of Hiſtory. But from the cleanneſs and terſneſs of Expreſſion may undeniably be evinc'd, that the Author of this Book liv'd in the Age of *Julius* and *Auguſtus*; and beſides all this there are forty places in the Lives themſelves that prove *Nepos* was their Author, and liv'd in the Age aforeſaid, for which if you pleaſe conſult *Lambin.*

But *Nepos* hath not bin more abus'd by aſcribing his Works to other Men, than in making him the Author of ſome peices wholy Unworthy of him. Thus the Book of Illuſtrious Men, which uſually was ſaid to be *Pliny's*, but is really *Aurelius Victor's*, ſome Critics Father upon our Author, and the Tranſlation of *Dares* the *Phrygian* is ſaid to be his: But the very

ry ſtyle it ſelf is ſufficient to convince any Judicious Reader. *Nepos*, in the Judgement of ſome Men liv'd after the Nativity of our Lord, but if you conſider how Celebrated he was for his Learning in the days of *Catullus*, *Cicero* and *Atticus*, you will find no great reaſon to ſubſcribe to their opinion.

THE

THE CHRONOLOGY TO CORN. NEPOS.

		Olympiad	Year of Olympiad.	Before Christ.
Miltiades	Overcomes the *Persians* at *Marathon*	72	3	490
	Dies in Prison	72	4	489
Themistocles	Overcomes the *Persians* at *Salamis*	73	1	408
	Banish'd	77	2	471
	Dies	79	2	463
Aristides	Banish'd by *Ostracism*	74	2	485
	With *Pausanias* overthrows and kills *Mardonius*	75	2	479
Pausanias	Conspires against *Greece*	75	4	477
	Is starv'd	75	4	477
Cimon	Overcomes the *Persians* in a Naval Fight	77	3	430
	Is banish'd by *Ostracism*	82	3	450
	Overcomes the *Persians* by Sea and Land	82	3	450
	Dies	82	4	449
Lysander	Besieges *Athens*	93	4	405
	Takes it	94	1	404
Alcybiades	Is banish'd	92	1	412
	Recall'd	92	2	413
	Dies	94	1	404
Thrasybulus	Commander of the *Athenians*	92	2	411
	Overcomes the thirty Tyrants	94	4	401
	Dies	99	4	308
Conon	Overcomes the *Lacedæmonians* at *Cnidus*	96	3	394
	Fortifies the *Piræum*	96	4	393
Dion	His flight and Preparation for War against *Dionysius*	101	3	358
	He dies	106	2	355 339.
Iphicrates	General of the *Athenians*			
	Obtains the Victory at *Corinth* and lays down his Command	96	4	393
Chabrias	General of the *Athenians*	99	2	383

Chabrias	Overcomes the *Lacedemonians*	100	4	377
	Is kill'd by Fraud	101	4	376 +
Timotheus	General of the *Athenians*	101	1	376
Datames	Liv'd about	94	4	400
Epaminondas	Made Commander of the *Thebans*	101	2	375
	Overcomes the *Lacedemonians* at *Leuctra*	102	2	371
	Beſeiges *Sparta*	102	4	369
	Dies in the Battel at *Mantinea*	104	2	363
Pelopidas	Taken Captive	103	1	368
	Recover'd	103	2	367
Ageſilaus	Makes War in *Aſia*	96	2	395
	Againſt the *Perſians* in *Egypt*, where he dies, His Age eighty four, His Reign forty-one	107	1	380
Eumenes	Is made Tutor to *Alexanders* Children	115	2	319
	His War againſt *Antigonus*	115	4	317
	Is taken and ſlain	116	2	315
Phocion	Put's to flight *Clitarchus* the Tyrant	109	4	340
Timoleon	Delivers from ſlavery *Corinth* and *Syracuſe*	159	2	143
	Overcomes the *Corinthians*	159	4	140
	Dies	106	2	137
Hamilcar	Governor of *Sicily* for the *Carthaginians*	132	4	259
Hannibal	Paſſes the *Alps*	104	4	218
	Gains the Victory at *Canna*	141	2	216
	Is overthrown by *Scipio*	144	3	202
	Flies to *Antiochus*	146	2	195
	Dies, His Age ſixty-three	149	3	182
M. P. Cato.	Conſul	146	2	195
	Cenſor	149	1	184
	Dies	157	4	149
T. P. Atticus	Liv'd	178	4	63
C. Nepos	Liv'd	178	4	

A Catalogue of the Lives, with the Names of the ſeveral Gentlemen by whom they are Done into *Engliſh*.

Miltiades.	Mr. *Tullie.*
Themiſtocles.	Mr. *Gardiner.*
Ariſtides.	Mr. *Mitchell.*
Pauſanias.	Mr. *Hoy.*
Cimon.	Mr. *Creed.*
Lyſander.	Mr. *Kirchevall.*
Alcibiades.	Mr. *Peers.*
Thraſybulus.	Mr. *H. Gilman.*
Conon.	Mr. *Fenefer.*
Dion.	Mr. *Clark.*
Iphicrates.	Mr. *Allam.*
Chabrias.	Mr. *Kennett.*
Timotheus.	The Honourable Mr. *Booth.*
Datames.	Mr. *Edwards.*
Epaminondas.	Mr. *Lane.*
Pelopidas.	Mr. *Creech.*
Ageſilaus.	Mr. *Scott.*
Eumenes.	Mr. *Ch. Alleſtree.*
Phocion.	Mr. *Todd.*
Timoleon.	Mr. *Cary.*
Hamilcar.	Mr. *Brideok.*
Hannibal.	The Honourable Mr. *Finch.*
Cato.	Mr. *Robinſon*
P. Atticus.	Mr. *Morgan.*

THE

THE PREFACE OF CORN. NEPOS.

I Do not doubt (my Atticus*) but a great many will cenſure this way of Writing, not only as frivolous, but unworthy the Perſons of Excellent Men, when they ſhall read theſe little Memoires related of them; As who was the Maſter that taught* Epaminondas *Muſick; and that it was reckon'd amongſt his cheif Accompliſhments, that He had an handſome way of Dancing, and ſung skilfully to the Flute. But this is the opinion only of thoſe who being ignorant of the* Grecian *Learning, think nothing right but what ſtrictly quadrates with their own Manners; but if theſe would but once Learn, that things Decent and Uncomely do not appear with the ſame Aſpect of Honeſty and*

and Turpitude to all Perſons, but that every thing ought to be meaſur'd by the Inſtitutions of our Anceſtors; it will ſuppreſs their admiration, that in Celebrating the Vertues of the Grecians *we have followed their Cuſtoms; for it was not objected as a Scandal to* Cimon, *who was one of the Greateſt Perſonages amongſt the* Athenians, *that he Married his half Siſter which his Father had by a former Lady; ſince it was a familiar uſage, that obtein'd amongſt the reſt of the Citizens, tho it breakes in upon our ways of Living, and is counted Irreligion. It was a thing highly applauded in* Greece, *that young Lads were Catamites, and had many Rivals in that unnatural pleaſure; and at* Lacedæmon *there was not a Widow, tho of the Nobleſt Extraction, but would act her part in a Comedy, and take Money for it; In the ſame* Greece, *likewiſe it was matter of ſingular Triumph, to be proclaim'd a Conqueror in the Olympick Games; and yet to come forth upon the Stage, and be a ſpectacle of diverſion to the People,*

was

was not look'd upon by that Nation as any ways opprobrious; all which things notwithſtanding kindle our Averſion, as being partly downright Infamous, and partly below the Dignity of our Characters, and very far from being ſeemly or becoming; on the contrary, a great many actions carry with us the impreſſion of Decorum, which are thought very lewd by them; As for inſtance, what Roman *bluſheth to lead his Wife to an Entertainment? And what Mother of a Family will not reſide in the moſt frequented part of her houſe, and contribute her ſhare of Converſation at a Publick Feaſt? And yet 'tis much otherwiſe practis'd in* Greece, *for there they never come to any jolly Aſſignation, unleſs invited by their near Relations; and are never ſeen but in the moſt inward Apartments, which they call from thence (Gynæconitis) the Chamber of the Women; and no one's approaches were permitted thither, but of thoſe, who gain'd acceſs by the priviledge, either of Blood or Affinity; but the*

the bulk of the Volume will not let me run through any more Examples of this kind; and Expedition calls upon me to give the laſt hand to thoſe things which I have begun; therefore we will come cloſe to the purpoſe, and in this Book draw to your view the Lives of theſe Illuſtrious Commanders.

THE

THE LIFE OF *MILTIADES.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Tullie*, M.A. of *Queen's* College, *Oxon.* and Sub-Dean of *York.*

WHEN *Miltiades*, the Son of *Cimon*, an *Athenian*, had got himſelf a great and illuſtrious Name, as well for his own native modeſty, as by the ancient and renown'd Family whence he was deſcended; and was now arriv'd at thoſe years which were ſufficient to confirm his Fellow-Citizens in the high opinion they always had of him: It happen'd, that the *Athenians* were upon a new project of Conquering and trans-

The *Thracian Cherſoneſe*, or *Peninſula.*

planting Colonies to the *Cherſoneſe.* And ſince the deſign was generally applauded, ſeveral being come in Volunteers to offer their ſervice in the Expedition, it was thought fit to depute ſome of them to go to *Delphos*, and there conſult the Oracle of *Apollo* about the choice of a General. For at that time the *Thracians* were Maſters of thoſe Countries, who were not to be diſpoſſeſs'd but by force of Arms. When they were arriv'd at *Delphos*, and had addreſs'd themſelves to the Oracle, the Anſwer it return'd was poſitive and expreſs in the choice of *Miltiades*; whom if they would elect, *they ſhould be ſucceſsful in their Undertaking.* *Miltiades* confirm'd in his Command by ſo great an Authority, ſets Sail for the *Cherſoneſe*, with a ſelect Band of men; and touching upon *Lemnos* in his Road, would willingly have reduc'd the Inhabitants of that Iſland under the Dominion of the *Athenians*, requiring them immediately to ſurrender themſelves. But they laugh'd at the demand, and reply'd, *That yes they would, when he ſhould Sail from home to* Lemnos *with a Northerly Wind*; which is contrary to them who come from *Athens* to thoſe Coaſts. But *Miltiades*'s Affair would not admit of delay, and therefore without any farther

farther attempt, he ſteer'd his courſe directly for the *Cherſoneſe*, where he ſafely arriv'd. And having, in a ſhort time, defeated the Forces of thoſe *Barbarians*, and made himſelf Maſter of the *Cherſoneſe*, he fortified the moſt convenient places of it with Caſtles and Citadels, and planted all the Country with his own Soldiers, whom he enrich'd with the booty of frequent Excurſions. Nor had Fortune a greater ſhare in the ſucceſs of this Expedition then his own prudence. For having routed the Enemy's Forces by the Valour of his own, he manag'd the whole concern of the Victory with the greateſt Equity imaginable; and made the *Cherſoneſe* the place of his Reſidence. *For he acted as King amongſt them, tho he had not the Title*; and yet ow'd not his Power ſo much to the Abſoluteneſs of his Command as to the Juſtice of his Actions. For notwithſtanding the greatneſs of his Fortune, he was ready to do any acts of kindneſs for his Country-men the *Athenians*. By which means he eſtabliſh'd his Authority not only in the Hearts and Affections of the *Athenians* who gave it him, but of thoſe alſo over whom he was to exerciſe it too. And having thus ſetled the Government of his late Conqueſt, he comes back to *Lemnos*,

and (by virtue of his former Compact with the Inhabitants) demands the Surrendry of their City into his hands: *For they had promis'd to yeild themſelves up to him when he ſhould Sail from Home to* Lemnos *by a North Wind; which was now perform'd from his Habitation in the Cherſoneſe.* The *Carians* who then inhabited the Iſland, tho they little expected ſuch a demand of the performance of a jocular promiſe, yet were forc'd to comply and quit the Iſland; not ſo much out of the ſenſe of any obligation they conceiv'd themſelves to lie under, as of the power and great ſucceſs of the Enemy whom they were to encounter. Nor was he leſs happy in reducing thoſe other Iſlands, call'd *Cyclades*, under the *Athenian* Dominion. In thoſe days *Darius*, the *Perſian* King, reſolving upon a War with the *Scythians*, built a Bridge upon the *Danube*, for the paſſing over of his Army, and gave the chief Command of it, and of their reſpective Cities, to the Forces which he had rais'd in *Ionia* and *Æolis*. *For he went upon this ground, that it would be the beſt Expedient to keep the* Greeks *who inhabited* Aſia, *in ſubjection during the War, to entruſt their Friends and Country-men with the Command of his Towns, who could expect no Quarter if he*

he chanc'd to be defeated. Amongſt the reſt of theſe Governors was *Miltiades*; who, when he had continual news brought him of the ill ſucceſs of the *Perſian* Arms againſt the *Scythians*, exhorted the Commanders of the Bridge, *Not to baulk ſo fair an opportunity of freeing* Greece *from the* Perſian *Yoke*; alledging, *That if* Darius *and his Forces were but defeated now, not only all* Europe *would be free from the apprehenſions of his Arms for the future, but that the poor* Greeks *likewiſe who inhabited* Aſia *would be reſcued from the ſlavery they underwent, and the dangers they were expos'd to from their* Perſian *Maſters*; *and that if the Bridge were but demoliſh'd, the Deſign muſt of neceſſity take effect, and the* Perſians *periſh either by the Sword or Famine in a few days.* When ſeveral of the Company had join'd with, and ſeconded *Miltiades*, *Heſtiæus Mileſius* crav'd leave to diſſent from them, objecting, *That tho it might be expedient for the generality of the People to be freed from their ſubjection to* Darius, *yet it could by no means be ſo to them, who bore Command under Him: That their power and intereſt was imbark'd in the ſame bottom with* Darius's *Empire*; *which if once overthrown, their Employs muſt expire*

with it, and they ſuffer by the hands of their own Fellow-Citizens. And therefore, that he was ſo far from concurring with them, that for his part he thought it highly their intereſt that the Perſian *Empire ſhould be upheld and eſtabliſh'd.* When *Miltiades* underſtood by the ſenſe of the Company, that the point would be carry'd againſt him, and eaſily imagining, that of ſo many who were privy to the Conſult, ſome would certainly come in and inform the King of the Plot, He thought it his ſafeſt way to leave the *Cherſoneſe*, and return to *Athens*. And tho indeed the majority of the Cabal thought not fit then to concur with him in the Deſign, yet was it a generous propoſal in him, in that he rather conſulted the Liberty of his Country than his own private Intereſt.

Darius, after his return from *Europe* into *Aſia*, being adviſ'd by his Council to try if he could reduce *Greece* under his Dominions, fitted out a Fleet of Fifty Sail of Ships in order to that deſign; whereof he made *Datis* and *Artaphernes* Admirals, and gave them the Command of 200000 Foot, and 10000 Horſe; alledging the affront that the *Athenians* had put upon him in aſſiſting the *Ionians* in the taking of *Sardis*, and putting the Gar-

Garriſon to the Sword, as the ground and occaſion of the War againſt them. The *Perſians* landing at *Eubæa*, immediately made themſelves Maſters of *Eretria*, and ſent the Inhabitants of the Country into *Aſia* to *Darius*. From thence they marched as far as *Attica*, into the Fields of *Marathon*, which is but about ten miles from the Town. The *Athenians*, tho they were in a great conſternation at the near approaches of ſo powerful an Enemy, yet ſolicited they none but the *Lacedemonians* for their Aſſiſtance; to whom they diſpatch'd *Philippus* (one of thoſe Couriers whom they call'd * *Hemerodromi*) to acquaint them what urgent occaſions they had for their ſpeedy Relief. In the mean time they choſe ten Great Officers to command the Army, whereof *Miltiades* was one; amongſt whom it was hotly debated, *Whether it were more adviſable for them to rely upon the ſtrength of the Town, or to march out and fight the Enemy.* *Miltiades* preſs'd them with greater earneſtneſs then any of the reſt, to pitch their Tents as ſoon as poſſibly they could; *for that by this means the Citizens would be excited to behave themſelves more bravely, when they ſaw how highly their Valour was rely'd upon; and the Enemy's Advances would be retarded,*

Stout young Fellows, who were diſpatch'd abroad upon State affairs, and perform'd their Errand with great expedition

when they ſhould obſerve with what a ſmall handful of men they reſolv'd to fight them. There were none who actually aſſiſted the *Athenians* in this juncture but the *Platæans*, who ſent them a thouſand men, which made them completely ten thouſand ſtrong; a ſmall number, but fir'd with a wonderful deſire to be in Action. *Miltiades*, by this Counſel of his, became more conſiderable then his Collegues; for 'twas upon the great Authority his Advice had amongſt them, that the *Athenians* march'd their Forces out of the Town, where they encamp'd conveniently, and the next day after, at the foot of an Hill, join'd Battel with all the Courage imaginable, and the advantage of a new ſtratagem, on their ſide: For they had block'd up the paſſages with Trees in ſeveral places, to the intent, that they might both be ſhelter'd by the tops of the Mountains, and that the Trees in the way might hinder the Enemies Horſe from breaking in upon them. *Datis*, tho he ſaw that the *Athenians* had manifeſtly the advantage of the place, yet relying upon the vaſt odds he had in the number, and conſidering alſo, that the *Spartan* Auxiliaries were not yet arriv'd, reſolv'd to engage them; and accordingly led up an hundred thouſand of his

his Infantry, and ten thouſand Horſe, with which he gave them Battel; wherein the Valour of the *Athenians* ſo far exceeded that of their Enemies, that they defeated ten times the number of their own Forces; and ſo affrighted the *Perſians*, that they never offer'd to make towards their Camp again, but fled to their Veſſels. Than which Fight never certainly was any thing more illuſtriouſly great and glorious: For never did ſo ſmall an handful of men conquer ſo numerous and powerful an Army. And here it may not be improper to remarque, what *Miltiades* had for the Reward of ſo great an Action; whereby we may perceive, *how the ſame Humour and Genius runs thro all Bodies Politic.* For as the Marks of Honour which the *Romans* formerly fix'd upon the braveſt Men, were very rare and inconſiderable, and for that reaſon more ſignally honourable; tho now indeed they are grown common and extravagant: So we find it was anciently amongſt the *Athenians*; for this great *Miltiades*, to whom all *Greece* as well as *Athens* ow'd their ſafety, had only this Honour done him, that when the Fight at *Marathon* was painted in the Gallery call'd * *Pœcile*, he was drawn the firſt of all the ten Commanders, exhort-

* ποικίλη, ſo call'd from the variety of Pictures wherewith it was adorn'd.

exhorting his Soldiers, and giving Battel to the Enemy. And yet the ſame People, after they had enlarg'd their Territories, and became once corrupted with the Bribery of their Magiſtrates, decreed no leſs then three hundred Statues to the Honour of *Demetrius Phalereus*. After this Engagement at *Marathon*, the *Athenians* made him Admiral of a Fleet of Seventy Sail of Ships, to make War upon thoſe Iſlands which had aſſiſted the *Barbarians*. Several whereof ſubmitted without reſiſtance, and ſome he took by aſſault. Amongſt the reſt that held out was the Iſland *Parus*, a rich and arrogant People, whom when he couldby no means perſwade to a Surrendry, he landed his men, made his Works about the City, and depriv'd them of all ſupplies; and had by the help of Sconces gradually made his approches ſo near to the Walls, that he was juſt upon the point of carrying the Town, when there happen'd, I know not how, a Grove of Trees to be fired a far off in the Continent in the night time; which as ſoon as it was perceiv'd by the Burgers and the Beſiegers, they both imagin'd that it was ſome Sign which was given by the Scouts to the *Perſian* Fleet: whereupon the Beſieg'd

ſieg'd became leſs inclin'd to a Surrendry; and *Miltiades* fearing a ſudden onſet from the Royal Navy, ſet fire to his Works, and return'd to *Athens* only with the full number of Ships they had at firſt given him the Command of. Which ſo enrag'd the *Athenians*, that they impeach'd him of Treaſon againſt the State, *That when he might have took* Parus, *he was Brib'd from proſecuting the Deſign by the King of Perſia.* He was at this time laid up of the Wounds which he had receiv'd in the Siege, and therefore becauſe he was not in a capacity of anſwering for himſelf, his Brother *Tiſagoras* appear'd for him. When the whole Evidence was giv'n in againſt him, the Crime was not found Capital, but he was fin'd however fifty Talents; which was as much as was expended in Equipping the whole Fleet. And being non-ſolvent, was caſt into Priſon, where he died. But tho the buſineſs of *Parus* was the pretext, yet was it not the real cauſe of his proſecution: for the *Athenians*, who ſtill retain'd the Tyranny of *Piſiſtratus* (which had raged but a few years before) freſh in their memories, were extreme apprehenſive of the growing power of any Fellow-Citizen. And they imagin'd, that *Miltiades*, who had

had born ſo great Offices and Commands, would not afterwards be eaſily content to move in a narrower and private Sphere; and that ſince he had been us'd to Rule, the force of meer Cuſtom would incline him to aſpire after it ſtill. For all the while he dwelt in the *Cherſoneſe* he had the Government wholly in his own hands, and was ſtiled a Tyrant, but Govern'd according to Law: for he ow'd not his power to the hands of Violence, but to the good Will of his Subjects, which he maintain'd by his own gentleneſs and moderation. Now they who had the ſupreme Government in any Commonwealth during Life, which formerly enjoy'd the liberty of Electing, were call'd Tyrants. But *Miltiades* was a perſon of great Humanity, and ſo exceedingly affable and obliging, that the meaneſt of his Subjects had free and eaſie Acceſs to him. A mighty deference was paid him every where. His Name grew great and venerable; and he had the character of an incomparable Soldier. And upon theſe motives the People thought it more ſecure to take him out of the way (tho he deſerv'd it not) then to live under the continual apprehenſions of danger from ſo great a Man.

THE

THE LIFE OF *THEMISTOCLES.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Gardiner* L. L. B. and Fellow of *All-Souls* Coll. *Oxon.*

THEMISTOCLES, the Son of *Neocles*, was an *Athenian*. The Vices which debauch'd the beginning of his Youth were reform'd by many eminent Vertues which appear'd in his more mature Age; ſo that he was excell'd by none, and there were but few who might be thought his Equals. But to trace him from his Cradle. His Father *Neocles* was a Gentleman, who married a Ci-

Authors differ concerning *Themiſtocles*'s Mother, both as to her Name and Country.

a Citizen of *Acarnania*, of whom *Themiſtocles* was born. His profuſe and diſſolute life when he was young, with the neglect of his Eſtate and worldly concerns, were ſo diſpleaſing to his Parents, that they diſinherited him. Which Diſgrace did rather animate then depreſs his Spirits. For when he conſider'd, that his Reputation thus loſt, could not eaſily be regain'd, he devoted himſelf wholly to the ſervice of the Commonwealth, grew very complaiſant to his Friends, and made it his buſineſs to be popular. He was often made an Arbitrator to reconcile private Differences, and was very frequent at the publick Aſſemblies. There was no buſineſs of more then ordinary concern but it paſs'd thro his hands; for he quickly apprehended what was moſt neceſſary to be done, and expreſs'd the ſame in an eaſie and familiar ſtile. Neither was he leſs ready in the managing of any affair then in the contriving of it; becauſe (as *Thucydides* ſays) he had a true judgment of things preſent, and would give a ſhrew'd gueſs at what was to come. So that upon the account of theſe his extraordinary parts he in a ſhort time became of great repute among the *Athenians*.

The.

The first Honour which was conferr'd upon him, was the Government of the Commonwealth in the *Corcyræan* War; for the carrying on of which he being chosen General, made the *Athenians*, not only in that, but also in all after-Expeditions, more warlike then they had formerly been. For whereas the public Money, which their Silver-Mines brought them in, was every year lavishly spent by the prodigality of their Magistrates, he prevail'd so far with the people, as to perswade them with that Money to build a Fleet of an hundred Ships. Which being in a short time effected, he first subdued his Enemies the *Corcyræans*, and then scowr'd the Sea of all the Pyrats, with which it was much infested. By this Action he mightily enrich'd the *Athenians*, and made them most expert Sea-Soldiers. And how much this conduc'd to the safety of all *Greece*, may be easily gather'd from the *Persian* War: For when *Xerxes* invaded all *Europe* both by Sea and Land, with such puissant Armies as no Prince, either before or since his time, has as yet had; with a Fleet of twelve hundred Men of War, attended by two thousand Victualling Ships; and Land-Forces, to the number of seven hundred thousand

thouſand Foot, and four hundred thouſand Horſe. The news of whoſe approach being brought to *Greece*, with a report that his deſigns were chiefly againſt the *Athenians*, to revenge his defeat at *Marathon*, they immediately ſent to *Delphos* to conſult the Oracle, what would be beſt for them then to do as to their preſent affairs. *Pythia* adviſes them to fortifie themſelves with a *Wooden Wall.* The meaning of which Anſwer, when no body underſtood, *Themiſtocles* thus expounded it, telling them, That it was the advice of *Apollo*, that they ſhould take their Families and their Goods with them into their Ships, for thoſe the Oracle meant by the *Wooden Wall.* Which Counſel they approv'd of, and they built as many Galleys as they had Ships before, and ſo carried all their Moveables, ſome to *Salamis* and ſome to *Trœzene.* Their Tower and their Images they deliver'd up to the care of their Prieſts and a few old men, and ſo they left the Town.

This Counſel was very ungrateful to moſt of the Cities, becauſe they had much rather have been engag'd in a Land War. Therefore a ſelect Company are ſent under the Command of *Leonidas* King of the *Lacedæmonians*, to poſſeſs

poſſeſs themſelves of *Thermopylæ*, and to ſtop the farther progreſs of the *Barbarians*. But they were over-power'd by the Forces of ſo great an Enemy, and were all cut off in that very place. The firſt Engagement of the two Fleets (that of the *Grecians* conſiſting of three hundred Sail, whereof two belong'd to the *Athenians*) was at *Artemiſium*, between *Eubæa* and the Continent. The reaſon why *Themiſtocles* made choice of thoſe Streights was, leſt ſo great a multitude might have ſurrounded him. Here, tho both Navies retreated upon equal terms, yet the *Athenians* durſt not maintain their ſtation; becauſe they fear'd, that if part of the Enemy's Fleet ſhould get beyond *Eubæa*, they would engage them on both ſides. Upon which account they were forc'd to leave *Artemiſium*, and ſail to *Salamis*, which is over againſt *Athens*.

But *Xerxes* having gain'd *Thermopylæ*, immediately marched to *Athens*, where meeting with no oppoſition, he kill'd the Prieſts which he found in the Tower, and fir'd the City. At the news of which the Sea-men were much terrified; and when they durſt not ſtand to their Colours, and 'twas the advice of moſt of them, that every one ſhould go home

to their own Houſes, and defend themſelves as well as they could within their Walls, *Themiſtocles* alone ſtood undaunted, telling them, *That ſo long as they held together in one Body they might equal the Enemy*; but proteſting, *if once diſpers'd they muſt neceſſarily periſh.* And that that would be their fate he affirm'd to *Eurybiades*, a King of the *Lacedæmonians*, who then was Admiral. Whom when he found not to be concern'd ſo much as he could have wiſh'd, he ſent one of his Servants (in whom he could moſt confide) to *Xerxes* by night, to tell him, *That his Enemies were upon their flight*; *and that if they ſhould now eſcape, he muſt expect a long and difficult War*; *for then he would be forc'd to purſue them ſingly*; *but if he would now Engage them, he might in a ſhort time deſtroy them all.* This ſtratagem ſo far prevail'd, that his own Soldiers were compell'd to fight, tho againſt their wills. Whereupon, *Xerxes* not in the leaſt ſuſpecting the trick which was put upon him, fell upon them the next day in ſo narrow a Sea that his whole Fleet could not engage; a place very diſadvantageous to himſelf, but on the contrary mighty advantageous to his Enemy: So

that

that he was Conquer'd rather by the Policy of *Themiſtocles* then by the Arms of *Greece*.

Altho *Xerxes* manag'd this Action extremely ill, yet after all he had ſo great Reſerves, that even with them he might have beaten the *Athenians*; but for the preſent he was forc'd to retreat. For *Themiſtocles* fearing leaſt he ſhould go on with the War, ſent him word, that the breaking down of the Bridge which he had built over the *Helleſpont* was then in agitation, to exclude his paſſage into *Aſia*; and made him believe it. For that Journey which coſt him ſix months travel when he came for *Greece*, he perform'd the very ſame way in leſs then thirty days at his return; looking upon himſelf not as conquer'd by *Themiſtocles*, but preſerv'd. Thus by the Policy of one man, *Greece* was reſtor'd to its liberty, and *Aſia* made ſubject to *Europe*. This other Victory was not at all inferior to that at *Marathon*: For here alſo at *Salamis*, after the ſame manner a few Ships defeated the greateſt Fleet that has been in the memory of man.

Great was *Themiſtocles* in this War, and as great in Peace. For when the *Athenians* had only the *Phaleric*, a ſmall and inconvenient Port, by his advice

they built a triple Haven at *Pyræa*, and encompaſs'd it with ſuch Walls that it equall'd the City in glory, and excell'd it in uſefulneſs. He alſo rebuilt the *Athenian* Walls at his own hazard. For the *Lacedemonians* having got a plauſible reaſon, *viz. the Incurſions of the Barbarians*, deny'd that any City ought to be built but at *Peloponneſus*, leſt there ſhould be any Fortifications which might harbour their Enemies; and therefore they endeavour'd to put a ſtop to their Buildings. But their deſigns were quite contrary to their pretences: For thoſe two Victories, that at *Marathon* and the other at *Salamis*, made the *Athenians* ſo conſiderable all the World over, that the *Lacedæmonians* were afraid they would have contended with them for the Soveraignty; wherefore they uſed all means to keep them as low as poſſibly they could. For after they heard that the Walls were begun, they ſent Ambaſſadors to *Athens* to forbid their proceedings. Whilſt they were there they deſiſted, and told them that they would ſend Ambaſſadors to treat with them about that affair. This Embaſſy *Themiſtocles* undertook, and went firſt himſelf, ordering the reſt of the Ambaſſadors not to follow till they thought

thought the Walls were high enough. In the mean time all the City, of what condition ſoever, whether Bond or Free, aſſiſted in the work; neither did they ſpare any place, whether ſacred or prophane, public or private; but took from all parts what materials would moſt conduce to the Fortifications. So that their Walls were built with the Ruins of their Temples and Monuments.

Themiſtocles, when he came to *Lacedæmon*, did not immediately deſire Audience of the Magiſtrates, but ſpun out the time as long as he could, making this his excuſe, that he expected his Collegues. But whilſt the *Lacedæmonians* complain that the Works nevertheleſs went on, and that *Themiſtocles* endeavour'd to deceive them, in the interim the reſt of the Ambaſſadors arrive; by whom when he was given to underſtand, that the Fortifications were almoſt finiſh'd, he addreſs'd himſelf to the *Ephori*, the chief Magiſtrates among the *Lacedæmonians*, and told them, *That what they heard concerning their Fortifications was falſe, wherefore he thought it but reaſonable that they ſhould ſend ſome perſons of Truſt and Quality, to whom credit might be given, to enquire into that affair; and in the mean time*

they might keep him as their Pledge. They granted his requeſt, and accordingly three Ambaſſadors are ſent, Men of great Honour and Repute; on whom *Themiſtocles* order'd his Collegues to attend; forewarning them, not to ſuffer the *Lacedæmonian* Ambaſſadors to return till he himſelf was ſent back. When he thought they were arriv'd at *Athens*, he waited upon the Senate and Magiſtracy, and told them very frankly, *That by his Advice the* Athenians *had Wall'd in their Publick, their Tutelar, and Houſhold Gods, that they might with the more eaſe defend them from their Enemies (which thing was juſtifiable by the Common Law of Nations); neither did they do this with a deſign to incommode* Greece, *for their City was as 'twere a Bulwark againſt the* Barbarians, *having twice routed the* Perſian *Armada.* He told them, *That they did not act like juſt and honeſt men, who rather regarded what conduc'd moſt to their own Greatneſs, then what might be profitable to all* Greece; *wherefore if they thought ever to have thoſe Ambaſſadors return whom they had ſent to* Athens, *they muſt releaſe him, otherwiſe they muſt never expect to receive them again into their own Country.*

Yet

Yet after all this he could not evade the envy of his Fellow-Citizens. For even the ſame jealouſie which condemn'd *Miltiades* baniſh'd *Themiſtocles*. After which he went to *Argos*; where living in much ſplendor, upon the account of his great Endowments, the *Lacedæmonians* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Athens*, with this Accuſation againſt him, *That he had made a League with the King of Perſia to deſtroy Greece.* For which Crime, tho abſent, he was condemn'd of *Treaſon*. Which thing ſo ſoon as he heard of, not thinking himſelf ſafe at *Argos*, he went to *Corcyra*; where underſtanding that the Governors of the City were very fearful leſt the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* ſhould declare War againſt them upon his account, he fled to *Admetus* the King of the *Moloſſians*, who had formerly entertain'd him. But at his firſt arrival, not finding the King, that he might be receiv'd by him with the greater fidelity, he took his little Daughter and carried her with him into the Sanctuary, a Cuſtom which is very religiouſly obſerv'd among the *Moloſſians*; and from thence he would not ſtir, till the King had given him his Hand, and receiv'd him into his Patronage; which he afterwards faith-

The *Oſtraciſm.*

fully perform'd. For when he was demanded by the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, he would not deliver him up, but advis'd him to conſult his own ſafety; for 'twas not likely that he ſhould be ſecure in a place ſo nigh his Enemies. Therefore he commanded him to be carried to *Pydna*, and ſent a ſufficient Guard with him. Whereupon he went a Shipboard *incognito*, but a great Storm, which then happen'd, drove the Veſſel upon the Iſland *Naxus*, where at that time the *Athenian* Army lay. *Themiſtocles* thought that if they ſhould put in there, he muſt neceſſarily periſh; ſo that by this ill fortune he was forc'd to diſcover himſelf to the Maſter of the Ship, promiſing great Rewards if he would preſerve him. The Maſter commiſerating the condition of ſo great a man, kept his Ship at Anchor for a day and a night, at a good diſtance from the Iſland, and would not ſuffer any man to go out of it. From whence he ſail'd to *Epheſus*, and there he landed *Themiſtocles*, who afterwards ſufficiently rewarded him for his great ſervice.

I know that many Authors have reported, that *Themiſtocles* went into *Aſia* whilſt *Xerxes* was King, but I think

The-

Thucydides is rather to be credited, who living about that Age, wrote an Hiſtory of thoſe times, and was alſo of the ſame City; and he ſays, that he came to *Artaxerxes*, and wrote him a Letter after this manner: *I* Themiſtocles *am come unto you; I, who brought ſo many Calamities by the* Grecians *upon your Family, when I was forc'd to make War with your Father to defend my own Country. But I did him greater Services afterwards, when I was ſafe and he in danger; for when he would not go back into* Aſia, *after the Battel at* Salamis, *I ſent him word, that it was then in agitation, that the Bridge which he had made over the* Helleſpont *ſhould be broken down, and that he ſhould be ſurrounded by his Enemies; by which meſſage he eſcap'd the danger. But now here I my ſelf am come, baniſh'd from all* Greece, *humbly to entreat your Alliance, which if I may but obtain, you ſhall find me as great a Friend to you, as I have been a dangerous Enemy to your Father. But I would deſire a Year's time to conſider of thoſe Affairs, concerning which I intend to treat with you, and when that is expir'd, to permit me to come unto you.*

The King admiring the greatneſs of his Spirit, and being deſirous to make ſuch

ſuch a man his Friend, granted his Requeſt. All which time he ſpent in his Studies, and in Learning of the *Perſian* Language; in which he became ſo great a Proficient, that he diſcours'd the King more Elegantly then any of the Natives could. And when he had made ſeveral promiſes to him, and one eſpecially of that which was moſt grateful, *viz. the deſtruction of Greece, if he would be pleas'd to follow his Advice.* Being highly Rewarded by *Artaxerxes*, he return'd again into *Aſia*, and dwelt at *Magneſia*, which City the King gave to him, uſing this expreſſion, *That it would keep him in Bread* (for the Revenues of that Country amounted to fifty Talents yearly), *Lampſacum would afford him Wine, and Myuntes Victuals.* There remain'd but two Monuments of him in our time; his Sepulcher, near the Town, in which he was bury'd, and his Statues in the *Forum* of *Magneſia*. Concerning whoſe death Authors much differ; but *Thucydides* ſeems to us to be moſt authentic, who ſays, that he dy'd of a Diſeaſe at *Magneſia*. Neither does he deny, but that there was a report of his voluntarily poiſoning himſelf, when he deſpair'd of

of Conquering *Greece*, as he had promis'd the King. The ſame Author alſo ſays, that his Friends bury'd his Bones in *Athens* by ſtealth, becauſe the Laws forbid any one to be there Interr'd who is Condemn'd of *Treaſon*.

THE

THE LIFE OF *ARISTIDES.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Mitchell*, M. A. of *Trin.* Coll. *Oxon.*

ARISTIDES, the Son of *Lyſimachus*, an *Athenian*, came ſo near to *Themiſtocles*, that he conteſted his Preeminence; which made them detract from each other's Reputation; and gave a full Example of the great Power which Eloquence has over Innocence: For altho the Integrity of *Ariſtides* was ſuch,

ſuch, that (for ought we yet know) He was the only Perſon whom the World has hitherto thought fit to Entitle *The Juſt*; yet He was ſo run down by *Themiſtocles*, as to be Condemn'd, by the *Oſtraciſm*, to Ten years Baniſhment. Perceiving, that the angry Multitude would not be appeas'd, he yeilds to the Neceſſity of his Misfortune. At his going off, he obſerves one ſubſcribing to his Baniſhment, and asks him *his Reaſon for it, and what has* Ariſtides *done, that he muſt be puniſh'd in ſo ſevere a manner?* The Accuſer replies, *That indeed he did not know* Ariſtides; *but was not ſatisfied, that He above all men ſhould ſo earneſtly endeavour at the Name of Juſt.* He did not ſtay out the whole time of his Baniſhment; for, within ſix years, *Xerxes* falling into *Greece*, he was recall'd by an Act of the People. He Engag'd in the Sea-Fight at *Salamis*, which was before his Reſtauration. He led up the *Athenians* in the Battel of *Platææ*, wherein *Mardonius* was ſlain, and the *Perſian* Army routed. I find nothing of his Exploits in Military Affairs, except in this Command; but the Effects of his Sincerity, his Juſtice,

and

and his Goodneſs, are not eaſily related; particularly, 'twas by his Conduct, that, when He and *Pauſanias* (who was Commander at the Overthrow of *Mardonius*) were in the ſame *Grecian* Fleet, the Dominion of the Seas was transferr'd from the *Lacedæmonians* to the *Athenians*; the former, before that time, having been *Lords* both by Sea and Land. The Inſolence of *Pauſanias*, and the Juſtice of *Ariſtides*, were the Cauſe, that moſt of the Cities of *Greece* made a Defenſive League with the *Athenians*, and offer'd to fight under them, againſt the *Perſians*, if there ſhould be occaſion. *Ariſtides* was the man pitch'd upon to ſettle the *Quota* of each City, for the Building of Ships, and Raiſing an Army. 'Twas by His Advice, that four hundred and ſixty Talents were every year laid up at *Delos*; which was appointed to be the place of the Common Treaſury; but afterward all the Money was remov'd to *Athens*. As for his Moderation, there can be no greater proof of it, then that, whereas he had ſo great Preferments, yet he died ſo very poor, that he left ſcarce enough to defray the Charges of his Burial;

Burial; ſo that after his Death (which was about four years after the Baniſhment of *Themiſtocles*) his Daughters were maintain'd at the Charge of the Public; and, at their Marriage, had Fortunes paid them out of the Common Treaſure.

THE

THE LIFE OF *PAUSANIAS.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Hoy*, Fellow of St. *John's* Coll. *Oxon.*

PAUSANIAS the *Lacedæmonian* was a Great Man, but various in all Conditions of Life; for as he was conſpicuous for eminent Vertues, he was no leſs overborn by the contrary Vices. The Glory of that famous Action at *Platææ* is aſcrib'd to him. For in that Fight two hundred thouſand choſen Foot, and forty thouſand Horſe, were ſhamefully beat out of *Greece* by an inconſiderable Handful of Men under his Conduct; and their Lieutenant-General, *Mardonius*

donius a *Mede*, the King's * Brother-in-Law, of ſingular Perſonal Fortitude and Prudence above all the *Perſians*, left dead on the place. Fluſht with the ſucceſs of this Victory, his Ambition began to be tampering, and he carry'd an Eye upon greater deſigns: But in the very beginning he met with this rub in his way; having ſent to the Temple of *Delphos* a Golden *Tripod*, found amongſt the Spoils, with an Epigram inſcrib'd on it, to this effect, *That by His Conduct the* Barbarians *were cut off at* Platææ, *and in Acknowledgment of the Victory that Preſent by Him Dedicated to* Apollo. The *Lacedæmonians* caus'd the Verſes to be Raz'd out, and in their ſtead Engrav'd only the Names of ſuch Confederate Cities as had been inſtrumental in defeating the *Perſians*.

* So *Gener* is alſo uſed by *Juſtin*, and in this place cannot be meant otherwiſe, becauſe his Lady was *Xerxe*.'s Siſter.

After this, *Pauſanias* was again intruſted with a Common Fleet of the Aſſociates for *Cyprus* and the *Helleſpont*, to diſmantle the Garriſons of the *Barbarians* in thoſe parts. In which Adventure meeting with the like ſucceſs, he began again to behave himſelf more inſolently, and aim'd at greater things then ever. For in the Sack of *Byzantium* taking many of the *Perſian* Nobility, and among them ſome of the

Blood Royal, he remitted them privately to *Xerxes*, and ſent with them *Gongylus* an *Eretrian*, with Letters to the King (as *Thucydides* delivers) in theſe words; Pauſanias *the* Spartan *General, underſtanding that ſome taken at* Byzantium *were nearly related to you, has made you a Preſent of them, and withall deſires to Contract an Alliance with you. Wherefore, if you approve of the Propoſals, he ſues for your Daughter in Marriage, on Condition that by his means both* Sparta *and the reſt of* Greece *be put into your Hands. If you think theſe things worth your Conſideration, ſend an approv'd Miniſter, to whom things may be communicated more particularly.* The King extremely well ſatisfied at the ſafety of ſo many Perſonages ſo near to himſelf, immediately diſpatch'd away *Artabazus* to *Pauſanias* with this Anſwer, *That he applauded the Deſign, and deſir'd nothing ſhould be omitted which might be ſerviceable to it; promiſing, in caſe it took effect, he ſhould never meet a Repulſe in any thing he would ſue for.* *Pauſanias* being inform'd of the King's pleaſure, grew ſo forward in the Buſineſs, that he incurr'd the Suſpition of the *Lacedæmonians*, who remanded him home; where he was queſtion'd for his Life, but the Allo-

Allegations charg'd upon him amounting to no more then *High Miſdemeanours*, he was only Fin'd, and diſcharg'd from returning to the Navy.

Yet, not long after, of his own head he went back to the Army, where he follow'd ſuch indiſcreet and raſh Practices as confirm'd what hitherto had only been ſuſpected of him. He laid aſide not only the ſeverer Moralities of his own Country, but their Faſhions and Dreſs. He appeared in Pomp and Splendour like a Foreign King; and came into publick in the *Median* Habit. His Perſon was guarded by a Retinue of *Medes* and *Egyptians*; his Entertainments were after the *Perſian* manner, with greater Luxury then his Friends thought allowable; he was hard of Acceſs; he anſwer'd proudly, and commanded cruelly. In fine, he refus'd to return to *Sparta*, but withdrew to *Getonæ*, a place in the Country of *Troas*, where he engag'd in Meaſures deſtructive to his Country and Himſelf. The *Lacedæmonians* being certified of this, ſent Deputies to him with the * *Scytala*, in which after their manner it was ſpecified, That unleſs he immediately return'd home they would paſs a *Bill of Attainder* againſt him. Upon the receipt of this news he went home, hoping

* A ſort of Tally, by which the General was inform'd of their Will. Deſcrib'd by *Plutarch* in the Life of *Lyſander*.

to diſperſe the Clouds which hung over him, by the power of his Money and Intereſt there. But the *Ephori* ſecur'd him immediately, in the Name and Behalf of the Community. For by the Conſtitution of that Government this Power over the Prince is repos'd in the hands of any one of the *Ephori*. However, in ſome time he got rid of that Grievance, but could not ſo eaſily remove the Suſpition he lay under; for it was ſtill miſtruſted he dealt underhand with the King. There are a ſort of People among the *Lacedæmonians*, they call *Helotes*, who are imploy'd in manuring the Lands, and performing all other offices of Slaves; Theſe alſo it was thought he had endeavour'd to debauch to his Deſigns with hopes of *Liberty*. But the Evidence againſt him being meerly Circumſtantial, they deferr'd proceeding againſt a Perſon of his Name and Quality upon Surmiſes and Preſumptions, till time ſhould make a fuller Diſcovery.

While theſe things were in agitation, *Argilius* (a young man whom *Pauſanias* had formerly defil'd to ſatisfie his unnatural Love) being ſent by him with a Pacquet to *Artabazus*, a ſuſpition ran in his head, that there was ſomewhat in it nearly concern'd himſelf; becauſe he had

had obſerv'd, that none who went thither on the like Errand had ever return'd back. Upon this, breaking up the Seals, he found that on the delivery of the Letters he was to have been made away; beſides many things relating to the tranſactions then on foot between the King and *Pauſanias*; all which, with the Letters themſelves, he immediately communicated to the *Ephori*. But here the warineſs and moderation of the *Lacedæmonians* is not to be paſs'd by, who ſuffer'd not themſelves to be wrought upon, even by ſuch proof, to take *Pauſanias* into Cuſtody; but forbore to uſe any rigor towards him, till ſuch time as his own Verbal Evidence ſhould be produc'd againſt himſelf; and accordingly they gave Inſtructions to the Diſcoverer how to manage this affair. Now there was a Temple of *Neptune* at *Tænaris*, which the *Greeks* held inviolable; hither the Diſcoverer was to fly for Sanctuary, and kneel down before the Altar; near this they had contriv'd a place underground, from whence any one might hear what was diſcours'd to *Argilius*; where ſeveral of the *Ephori* had privately poſted themſelves. *Pauſanias*, as ſoon as he heard that *Argilius* was fled to the Temple, haſtning after him in great

diſturbance, found him on his Knees before the Altar; and enquiring into the occaſion of that ſudden motion, he open'd to him the Contents of the Letters. At this *Pauſanias*'s diſturbance increas'd ſo far, that he entreated him not to diſcover or betray one who had formerly deſerv'd ſo well of him; promiſing for the future, if he would gratifie him ſo far, and be aſſiſting to him under the preſent Diſtreſs, he ſhould find it of very great Advantage to him.

The *Ephori*, after this Diſcovery, concluding it ſafer to apprehend him in the City, return'd thither. And *Pauſanias* having, as he thought, made up the buſineſs with *Argilius*, was arriv'd on the place where it was order'd he ſhould be ſiez'd; when he perceiv'd a Deſign out againſt him, from the looks of one of the *Ephori*, who had a deſire to advertiſe him of it. By this means he got into the Temple of *Minerva*, call'd * *Chalciœcus*, a little before his Purſuers; but to hinder his Eſcape thence, the *Ephori* caus'd the Gates to be block'd up, and threw down the Roof upon his Head, that he might have the ſpeedier Death. His Mother is reported to have been living at that time; and, altho then

* *Suid.* ſays, from her Brazen-Temple.

of

of very great Age, when ſatisfied of the Treaſonable Practices of her Son, to have brought the firſt Stone in order to block up the entrance into the Temple. Thus *Pauſanias* ſully'd the Glory of a Great General by an Ignominious Death. Being taken out of the Rubbiſh half-dead, he immediately expir'd. And tho ſome were for diſpoſing the Body as was uſual to ſuch as had been Executed, yet the majority were againſt it; ſo he was bury'd far from the place where he dy'd. However afterwards, by the Advice of the *Delphic* Oracle, he was took up again, and Interr'd where he ended his Life.

THE LIFE OF *CIMON.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Creed*, M. A. of *Corpus-Chriſti* Coll. *Oxon.*

CIMON, the Son of *Miltiades*, an *Athenian*, was very unfortunate in his Youth; for his Father not being able to pay his Fine to the People, and dying a Priſoner of the State, *Cimon* was committed to the ſame Confinement; Nor by the Laws of *Athens* could he be Releas'd till he had paid the Mulct impos'd on his Father. But he had Eſpous'd his own Siſter *Eſpinice*, not ſo much to gratifie his Affection as to follow the Mode of his Country; for 'twas common

mon with the *Athenians* to marry their own Siſters. One *Callias* (a man of a fair Eſtate, but of mean Extraction and Parentage; for out of the Silver-Mines he rais'd his Fortune and Wealth) being his Rival, made this propoſal to *Cimon*, that if he would yeild to a Divorce and Reſignation of her to him, he then would pay his Debts. But when *Cimon* generouſly ſcorn'd to part with his Wife and Siſter on ſuch baſe and mercenary Conditions, She (out of Affection and Charity to him) declar'd, That ſhe could not ſuffer the Son of the Great *Miltiades* to be perpetually Damn'd to a Priſon, when it lay in her power to procure his Enlargement. Therefore ſhe reſolved to marry *Callias*, provided he perform'd his part of the Covenant.

Cimon having thus obtain'd his Liberty, ſoon became a Chief Miniſter of State. For he was a great Maſter of Rhetoric, a very Generous Perſon, an admirable Civilian, and an expert Soldier; for his Father gave him his Youthful Education in a Campaign. Therefore he kept the Citizens in awe and ſubjection; and in the Army he was almoſt Abſolute. When he was firſt a Commander, at the River *Strymon*, he routed a vaſt Body of the *Thracians*.

ans. He built the Town of *Amphipolis*, and planted there a Colony of ten thouſand Natives of *Athens*. At *Mycale* he alſo Triumph'd over the Captive *Cyprian* and *Phœnician* Navy, conſiſting of two hundred Sail. Neither were his Enterprizes by Land that day leſs ſignal then his Victory by Sea; for having made himſelf Maſter of his Adverſary's Fleet, he Landed his Soldiers, and at one onſet gave a total Overthrow to the *Barbarian* Army. Having enrich'd himſelf with the Booty of this Conqueſt, he return'd homewards. For now ſome Iſlands had Rebell'd, under the pretence of Tyranny and Arbitrary Government. Thoſe whom he found Loyal, he confirm'd in their Principles; thoſe who had traiterouſly Revolted, he compell'd to their Duty and Allegiance. He Baniſh'd the *Delopes* from the City and Iſland of *Scyrus* (the preſent Inhabitants thereof) becauſe their Behaviour was ſtubborn and obſtinate; and divided their Eſtates among the new adopted Deniſons. At his arrival, he defeated the *Thaſii*, who truſted in the Fortreſs and Sanctuary of their Riches. With the Spoils and Ornaments taken in theſe Wars the South-ſide of the Caſtle at *Athens* was beautified.

When

When this his proſperous Management of Affairs ſhould have Entitl'd him to the greateſt Name and Reputation in the City, he had the Fate to be Envied, as his Father was, and other *Athenian* Worthies; for by the majority of Votes inſcrib'd in Shells (which they call'd *Oſtraciſm*) he was condemn'd to a Ten Year's Exile. For which unnatural uſage the *Athenians* ſooner expreſs'd repentance then *Cimon* his ſorrow. For when with a generous and undaunted Fortitude he bore the Envy of the ungrateful Citizens; and the *Lacedæmonians* had proclaim'd War againſt the *Athenians*, They immediately perceiv'd the want of ſo much Experienc'd Valour and Conduct. Therefore after five Years Baniſhment he was Reſtored. He (becauſe he had been courteouſly entertain'd by the *Lacedemonians*) eſteeming it the Intereſt of both Cities, that the Difference ſhould be Compos'd, without the Deciſion of the Sword; voluntarily went Ambaſſador to *Lacedæmon*, and by his ſucceſsful Negotiation reinſtated the two great Rival Cities in Peace and Amity. Not long after he was Commiſſion'd to go into *Cyprus* with 200 Ships; and when he had ſubdued the greater part of the Iſland, he fell mortally

The *Nemeguen* Edition of *Corn. Nepos*, is in this place follow'd, all the other Impreſſions of this Author, having omitted a material ſentence.

mortally Sick, and Died in the Town *Citium*.

For many years afterwards the *Athenians* (both in times of War and Peace) found the want of their Patriot. For he was ſo free and generous a Gentleman, that tho he had ſeveral Farms and Gardens in his poſſeſſion, yet he never ſubſtituted Bailiffs with a deſign that they ſhould preſerve the Fruits for him, leſt any man, that deſir'd them, might be deprived of his Satisfaction and Enjoyment. His Footmen were always furniſh'd with ready Money, that he might be provided on all occaſions to relieve the Neceſſities of the Indigent, leſt the Delay of his Charity might be miſconſtrued a Denial. If he ſaw any man that had the misfortune to be in a beggerly Habit, he frequently beſtow'd on him his own Coat. He kept ſo conſtant a Table, and ſuch plenty of Proviſion, that he daily invited all thoſe to Dinner (who were not preengag'd) that he met in the public places of Aſſembly. He never refus'd to be any one's Surety; nor deny'd them his Aſſiſtance, or the uſe of his Goods. Several grew Rich on his Bounty and Benevolence. Many poor Wretches, who left not enough behind them

them to pay for their Burial, he Interr'd at his own charges. Therefore 'tis no wonder, if by this his Carriage and Behaviour, his Life was free from Danger and Detraction, and his Death untimely and lamented.

THE

THE LIFE OF *LYSANDER.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Kirchevall*, M. A. of *Corpus-Chriſti* Coll. *Oxon.*

LYSANDER of *Lacedæmon* has left a great Name behind him; which he rather acquir'd by the Kindneſs of Fortune then by any Valiant Enterprize. It is clear indeed, that he gave the *Athenians* a ſignal Defeat, in the twenty-ſixth year of their War with the *Peloponeſian* State; * *but then we are not ignorant how He gain'd that Victory*; for it was never procur'd by the proweſs of his own Army, but by the unruly behaviour of his Enemies; who, thro their diſobedience to their Com-

* The vulgar Editions read, *idque ratione conſecutus ſit, latet*, but others are of opinion, that the original Copy had, *non latet*, which laſt we follow, as moſt agreeable to the Authors deſign.

Commanders Orders, and by leaving their Ships unmann'd, and being diſorderly ſcatter'd up and down the Fields, came at length into the power of *Lyſander*'s Forces. Thus the *Athenians* yeilded themſelves Vaſſals to the *Lacedæmonian* Yoke. *Lyſander*, tho always Seditious before, and a ſtout Stickler in Factions, yet being pufft up with this late Succeſs, he now took ſo much upon him; that by his means the *Lacedæmonians* were render'd extremely odious to *Greece*. For, whereas they had given it out, that the only motive of their War, was to take down the too powerful Dominion of *Athens*; *Lyſander*, after having made himſelf Maſter of the *Athenian* Fleet, which rode on the River *Egos*, made it his whole buſineſs to keep every City under his own Juriſdiction; all the while pretending he did it purely by the incitement of the *Lacedæmonians*. For they who had favour'd the *Athenian* proceedings being turn'd out of Office every where, he ſelected Ten out of every City, who were to be entruſted with the Soveraign ſway and power of all things; none being received into the number of theſe, but who would either enter himſelf a Member of his Family, or elſe would take

take this Teſt, *That he would be wholly* Lyſander's *Creature.*

Thus the Decemvirate being eſtabliſh'd in every City, all things were carried on as he pleas'd. For an example of whoſe Cruelty and Treachery, it is enough to produce a ſingle inſtance, that we may not tire the Reader's patience, by reckoning up more of his baſe Actions. When he return'd Conqueror out of *Aſia*, and had viſited *Thaſus* by the way, he greatly deſir'd to demoliſh that City, only for its ſurpaſſing fidelity to the *Athenians*; as if the *Thaſians* would now prove their firmeſt Friends and Allies, who heretofore had been their never-failing Enemies. But he foreſaw, if he had diſcover'd his intention herein, that the Revolt of the *Thaſians* would neceſſarily have enſu'd, and that they would have ſtood upon their own guard, in defence of their Lives and Fortunes.

Therefore that Decemviral Power, * *which he himſelf had erected only for his own ends*, the contrary party pull'd down; whereat being grievouſly vex'd and enrag'd, he contriv'd and plotted how to depoſe the *Lacedæmonian* Kings. But he found he could never compaſs this deſign without the Aſſiſtance of the Gods;

* *Sibi ab illo conſtitutam ſuſtulerunt.*

Gods; for the *Lacedæmonians* had always accuſtom'd themſelves, to bring every thing to their Oracles determination. His firſt Attempt was to ſeduce that of *Delphi*; but failing there, he ventur'd next upon the Oracle of *Dodona*; and meeting with a repulſe here, then he nois'd it abroad, that he was under an Obligation of paying ſome Vows to *Jupiter Ammon*; thinking to tamper with the *Africans* at an eaſier rate. After his arrival into *Africa*, being buoyed up with theſe alluring hopes, he found his Expectations mightily fruſtrated by *Jupiter*'s Prieſts. For to wheedle 'em into the acceptance of a Bribe, was not only a thing unfeaſible, but it alſo made 'em diſpatch away their Deputies to *Lacedæmon*, to accuſe *Lyſander* of Subornation. Being impeach'd of this Miſdemeanour, he was acquitted by his Judges; and afterward being ſent to relieve the *Orchomenians*, he was ſlain at *Heliartus*, by the hands of the *Thebans*. How true a Judgment had been paſt upon him, that Speech diſcovers to us, which was found in his Houſe after his death; in which he endeavours to perſwade the *Lacedæmonians*, that after they had null'd the Power of their Kings, they would ſingle him out for their General to carry

on the War. Now this was penn'd with ſo much Art, that its whole frame and compoſure ſeem'd to ſute and humor the Oracular way of expreſsion and delivery; the procurement of which he never queſtion'd, relying upon the ſtrength of his Purſe. *Cleon* of *Hallicarnaſſus* is the reputed Author of this Copy.

And here we muſt not paſs by the cunning contrivance of *Pharnabazus*, a *Perſian* Lieutenant, of a Royal Extraction. For when *Lyſander*, Admiral of the Navy, had been guilty of many cruel and covetous miſcarrages in the War, and was ſuſpitious, that his Fellow-Citizens had notice of 'em already; he made his requeſt to *Pharnabazus*, that he would bear him witneſs before the *Ephori*, with what Sincerity he had manag'd the War, and treated the Allies; and becauſe his Authority and Patronage would be very ſerviceable to him herein, he farther requeſted an accurate deſcription of his Integrity in writing. *Pharnabazus*, after his large promiſes, fill'd a great Book with many high expreſſions in his Commendation; which after *Lyſander* had perus'd and approv'd, in the very nick of its Sealing, *Pharnabazus* ſlily puts down another ready Seal'd in its place, of a ſize ſo uniform and ſo equal to the other, that no eye could

could perceive the difference; in which was drawn up a very full Impeachment of *Lyſander*'s Avarice and Perfidiouſneſs. After his return home, and after his Harangue before the Chief Magiſtrate, as much as he thought fit, upon his own Exploits; at laſt he produc'd *Pharnabazus*'s Book and Gift, as an Authentick Evidence of his unblemiſh'd Carriage and Deportment. *Lyſander* being order'd to withdraw, the *Ephori* employ'd the interval of his abſence in the peruſal of this Manuſcript, and after full cognizance of its deſign and purport, they redelivered it him to read. So this inconſiderate man at the ſame time read his own Indictment and prov'd it.

THE LIFE OF *ALCIBIADES.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Peers*, M. A. of *Chriſt-Church* Coll. *Oxon.* and Superior Beadle of *Phyſick* and *Arts.*

ALCIBIADES was the Son of *Clinias*, an *Athenian*. Nature ſeems, in the production of this Man, to have exerted the utmoſt Abilities of her Skill and Power; all Authors, who have written concerning him, agreeing in this, That ſuch a mixture of the moſt eminent Virtues and Vices was never found in any other perſon, as in *Alcibiades*. The Greatneſs and Splendour

Splendour both of his City and Parentage, Ennobl'd his Birth: And as for the Gifts of Nature and Perſonal Qualifications, he not only excell'd all his Cotemporaries in Beauty and Comlineſs of Body, but had likewiſe a Mind ſo richly and variouſly endow'd, that he apply'd himſelf to all matters (whether of Buſineſs or Pleaſure) with unparallel'd dexterity. Accordingly we find, that he acquitted himſelf as an excellent Commander both by Sea and Land; and was likewiſe ſo thorowly accompliſh'd in the whole Art of Oratory, that he gain'd the precedence of all others, as well for a powerful Eloquence as a graceful Elocution. Altho he was exceeding wealthy, yet could he, when the exigence of affairs requir'd, endure the ſevereſt toil and hardſhip; no man living at other times with greater ſtate and affluence, either in what related to his Table, or in his uſual Attendance and Equipage. He was moreover extraordinary courteous and affable in his Converſation; and obſerv'd to be Maſter of an exquiſite Art of Diſſimulation and Compliance with all Perſons and Occaſions. Laſtly, as often as he had a Releaſe from public Buſineſs, and ſome reſpite allow'd from labour and inten-

tion of Mind, he gave himſelf entirely over to Luſt and Luxury, being Diſſolute and Intemperate to ſuch a degree, that thoſe who reflected upon the other Scenes of his Life, were ſtruck with Admiration at the wonderful diſſimilitude and inconſiſtencies of Nature in the ſame Perſon; no man being found to differ more from *Alcibiades* then *Alcibiades* himſelf.

He had his Education in the Houſe of *Pericles*, his Stepfather (for ſo he is recorded to have been); but for his Learning he was oblig'd to the Care and Inſtructions of *Socrates*. * So that marrying moreover the Daughter of *Hipponicus*, (the * wealthieſt Perſon thorowout all the *Grecian* Countries) if he had been to have made his own choice, he could not have pitch'd upon greater Advantages and Endowments, then had been freely conferr'd upon him by Nature and Fortune. In his greener years he was Belov'd after the manner of the *Grecians*, and that by ſeveral; in the number of whom was his Maſter *Socrates*, as we are inform'd by *Plato* in his * *Sympoſium*, where he introduces *Alcibiades* relating, *that he lay laſt night with* Socrates, *and roſe from him in the morning no other then a Son ought to do from*

* Divers Copies have it *Omnium Græca Linguæ Eloquentiâ diſertiſſimum*: but this ſeems not very conſiſtent with the high Commendation given already to *Alcibiades* upon the ſcore of Eloquence: and therefore the other Lection [*omnium Græcorum ditiſſimum*] may be thought more genuine; eſpecially ſince it is collaterally ſupported by the authority of *Plutarch*, who only mentions the extraordinary Riches and high Quality of *Hipponicus*.

* A Book ſo call'd becauſe it contains Table-diſcourſe and entertainment.

from his own Father. When he came to maturity of Age, he as induſtriouſly proſecuted the ſame kind of Love towards others, wherein he proceeded as far as the * Laws were thought to allow; doing many offenſive and diſtaſteful things, in the way of humour and † frolick, throughout the courſe of his amorous Intrigues; divers of which might be related by us, were we not provided of greater matters, and more fit to be tranſmitted to Poſterity.

* The ancient *Grecian* Laws are obſerv'd to have been too favourable and indulgent to that unnatural kind of Love.
† Some of them may be ſeen in *Plutarch*; particularly, his taking away half the Cup-board Plate of his Paramour *Anytus*; who reſented it ſo little that he only ſaid he was oblig'd to him for taking but half.

In the time of the *Peloponneſian* War, his Advice and Authority prevail'd with the *Athenians*, to break with the People of *Syracuſe*, and Rig out a Fleet againſt them. For which Expedition *Alcibiades* himſelf was alſo choſen ſupreme Commander; two Collegues being join'd in Commiſſion with him, *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. But before all Neceſſaries were provided, and the Navy in a condition to put to Sea, it happen'd one Night, that all the Statues of *Mercury* thorow-out the City (* except that which ſtood before the Door of *Andocides*, and had from him its uſual denomination) were overturn'd, and thrown down from their Pedeſtals. Upon this unuſual accident a ſtrange conſternation ſeiz'd the minds

* This circumſtance was perhaps taken notice of by our Author, becauſe (as *Plutarch* tells us) *Andocides* was thereupon not only ſuſpected of having had a principal hand in the Action, but committed to Gaol and proſecuted for the ſame, *&c.*

of the People; for they conſider'd, that the Sacrilegious Fact had a public aſpect and tendency, and therefore that it muſt have been committed by no ſmall number of perſons; which made them apprehenſive of an Aſſociated Force within the City, able of a ſudden to oppreſs their Liberty, and enſlave the Commonwealth.

No man was thought more capable of Heading ſuch a Party then *Alcibiades*, he having already attain'd to a greater power and ſway then uſually was, or ſafely might be, in the hands of any * ſingle perſon; ſo extraordinary was his influence and authority among the common people; many of whom he had won by his frequent Largeſſes, and many more by his Patronage and Aſſiſtance in Law-Suits and * Proſecutions. By which Arts he was become ſo popular, that the eyes of the Multitude were (with a diſregard to the reſt of the Nobility) continually fixt upon him whenever he appear'd in publick; ſo that for this reaſon he came at length to be look'd upon as the principal object of the *Athenian* Hopes and Fears; all men eſteeming him equally capable of promoting the Welfare and Ruin of his Country. Beſides this, he lay under the ſcandal of holding Religious Conventicles in his Houſe; which thing

One of the Evidences being ask'd, how he diſcern'd the Faces of thoſe he accus'd; reply'd, by the Moon light, and tho it was anſwered, that that could not be, becauſe it was then the Dark of the Moon, yet had not this the leaſt influence upon the ſtupidly prejudic'd Multitude. *Plut.*

* *Privates* cannot be here apply'd in the ſtrict and common acceptation of the word to *Alcibiades*, he being apparently no private perſon in that ſence, becauſe the *Athenians* had themſelves advanc'd him to a high ſtation among the principal Magiſtrates of their Commonwealth.

* When a Catalogue of Criminals was brought into Court, he would uſually ſtrike out the names of ſuch as he had a deſire ſhould not be proſecuted.

thing in it ſelf was accounted a Crime of the higheſt nature among the *Athenians*; it being moreover the general opinion, that ſuch * Meetings were not really intended for Devotion, but for carrying on of Plots and Conſpiracies againſt the State.

* Is there any thing (ſays *Solomon*) of which it may be ſaid, ſee this is new? it hath bin already of old time which was before us.

An Indictment was * therefore brought againſt him in open Court; but he conſidering, that the time of his departure upon the *Sicilian* Expedition drew near, and reflecting upon the uſual proceedings of his Country-men againſt abſent Criminals, made it his requeſt, to be preſently brought to a Trial, and not to be expos'd at a diſtance to the craft and malice of his Enemies. But theſe, on the contrary, perceiving that they ſhould not otherwiſe prevail againſt him, deſiſted from proſecuting till ſuch time as they concluded him arriv'd in *Sicily*; for then they renew'd the accuſation with ſo much vigour and artifice, that he was preſently recall'd by the Magiſtracy, being order'd to appear, and put in his Plea and Defence. Whereupon he readily obeying the publick Summons, and (altho he had the faireſt hopes of having the Adminiſtration of his Province Crown'd with Honour and Succeſs) going on board the Gally which was ſent

* For breaking down the Statues of *Mercury*, tho *Plutarch* tells us, his accuſation ran for having celebrated in a profane and ludicrous manner the Myſteries of *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*.

ſent to convey him to *Athens*, landed at the City of *Thurii* in *Italy*. But here, his Prudence prevailing over his Reſolution, he began to conſider the boundleſs Power which the *Athenian* Populace aſſum'd to themſelves, and the Cruelty with which upon ſuch occaſions they ever treated the Nobility; and therefore judging it more adviſable to withdraw from the impending ſtorm, he made his eſcape from thoſe who had the cuſtody of him, and fled at firſt into the Country of *Elis*, and afterwards to the City of *Thebes*; tho it was not long e're he remov'd from thence to *Lacedæmon*; word being brought, that Judgment of Death was paſs'd upon him, and that his Eſtate was Confiſcated to the Commonwealth; beſides (as was uſual in ſuch caſes) the Sentence of Excommunication denounc'd againſt him (the Prieſts * *Eumolpidæ* being thereunto compell'd by the Multitude), and a Pillar erected in the moſt public place, with an Inſcription engraven thereon, to perpetuate the memory of this Religious Execration.

* The Succeſſors of *Eumolpus*, the Son of the Poet *Muſæus*, in that ſacred Office.

Arriv'd (as is aforeſaid) at *Lacedæmon*, he frequently proteſted, that he had no hoſtile intention againſt his Native Country; but only againſt ſuch Men

Men as were equally Enemies to It and Him; for, being ſufficiently ſenſible how much his Service contributed to the proſperity of the State, they had nevertheleſs thruſt him into Exile; as evidently preferring their own private revenge before the public welfare. However, it was not long e're by his advice the *Lacedæmonians* contracted an Alliance with the *Perſian* King, and ſtrongly fortified *Decelia* in *Attica*; by the Garriſon of which place the City of *Athens* was reduc'd into much the ſame condition as if it had been block'd up by a formal Siege; ſo that the Country of *Ionia* being alſo by his endeavours won over from the intereſt of the *Athenians*, the *Lacedæmonian* Arms began in all places to prevail and be victorious.

Yet did not theſe their Succeſſes ſo much encreaſe their Love, as awaken their Fears, and alienate their Affections from him; for conſidering him to be a perſon of the acuteſt parts, and moſt experienc'd prudence in all manner of affairs, and fearing withall, leſt prevail'd upon by the dictates of an inbred tenderneſs for his Native Soil, he ſhould one time or other deſert their Service, and purchaſe a Reconciliation with his offended Country; they judg'd it expedient, e're this

ſhould

ſhould happen, to have him privately aſſaſinated. This deſign could not long be conceal'd from *Alcibiades*, he being a perſon of ſo wonderful a ſagacity, that it was impoſſible for any thing to eſcape his knowledge; eſpecially when the leaſt ſurmiſe or ſuſpition had rais'd his jealouſie, and quicken'd his obſervation. Withdrawing therefore privately from *Lacedæmon*, he fled to *Tiſſaphernes* (one of King *Darius*'s Lieutenants) with whom altho he was e're long admitted into the ſtricteſt Bonds of Friendſhip, yet being much troubled at the riſing Greatneſs of the *Lacedæmonians*, and the languiſhing condition into which the *Athenian* Affairs were fall'n by their Loſſes in *Sicily*; he contriv'd, by ſpecial Meſſengers, to treat with his Fellow-Citizen *Piſander* (Prætor, or Commander in Chief over the Army at *Samos*) concerning his Pardon and Readmiſſion into his Country: *Piſander*'s concurring with him in an averſion for the Commonalty, and an equal favour for the Nobleſs, encouraging him thereunto. And altho he quickly found himſelf diſappointed in his expectations from this man, yet was he ſometime after receiv'd by *Thraſybulus*, the Son of *Lycus*, into the *Athenian* Army, which lay at *Samos*, and made a principal

principal Officer in the ſame; nor was it long e're, aſsiſted by the influencing ſuffrage of *Theramenes*, he obtain'd a publick Act of Reſtitution and Indemnity, and was join'd in equal Commiſsion with him and the foreſaid *Thraſybulus*.

Under the Command and Conduct of theſe three Generals the face of Affairs in a little time appear'd wonderfully alter'd; nay, it was not long e're the *Lacedæmonians*, whoſe Arms had hitherto been every where triumphant, found themſelves oblig'd to become humble Supplicants for Peace; and that not without good reaſon, having been beaten in five Land-Fights, and two Engagements at Sea; in which Engagements their Enemies are recorded to have taken no fewer then two hundred of their Trireme-Gallies. Add to theſe Succeſſes of the *Athenians*, the Recovery of *Ionia* and the *Helleſpont*, with many *Grecian* Towns ſeated upon the Coaſt of *Aſia*. In the number of thoſe Cities that were forceably ſubdu'd was *Byzantium*; there being divers others which were won over to an Alliance, by the politic Clemency with which all places were treated by them, as they happen'd to be ſucceſſively Conquer'd.

After theſe great Atchievements the three Generals return'd to *Athens*, bringing

ing back an Enrich'd and Victorious Army; the ſame being equally Laden with Spoil and Glory. But as ſoon as they were enter'd into the Harbour of the * *Piræeum*, the City being in a manner deſerted by its Inhabitants, ſo great was the confluence about *Alcibiades*'s Gally, that the ſight and reception of him alone ſeem'd to have drawn forth the gazing and tranſported Multitude; who at this time firmly believ'd, that the preſent happy and late calamitous condition of their Affairs were both entirely owing to him; yet blaming themſelves for the loſs of *Sicily*, and the victorious Exploits of the *Lacedæmonians*, ſince the ſame were wholly to be imputed to the Expulſion of ſo brave a Man out of their Commonwealth. Nor indeed was this an ill-grounded opinion, ſeeing that from the very time of his Readmiſſion into Command their Enemies could never prove an equal Match for them either by Sea or Land.

* It lay at a conſiderable diſtance from the City; to which it was join'd by a ſtrong wall. See the life of *Themiſtocles*.

No ſooner was he come on ſhore, but (without the leaſt notice taken of *Theramenes* and *Thraſibulus*, who landed at the ſame time, and had a joint intereſt with him in the late Atchievments) the whole Body of the People crowded up towards *Alcibiades*; many of them preſenting him, according to their diffe-

rent

rent abilities, with Coronets of Gold or Braſs; an Honour never done before, but to ſuch as were Victors in the *Olympic* Games. Calling to mind his forepaſt Sufferings, he could not abſtain from Tears as he receiv'd theſe kind Teſtimonies of Reconciliation from his Fellow-Citizens; and as ſoon as he came into the City, a ſolemn Aſſembly being held, he made ſo paſſionate a Speech to them, that he forc'd the natural expreſſions of Sorrow in equal abundance from the Eyes of all that heard him; thoſe even of the moſt unrelenting temper among them lamenting his hard uſage, and declaring themſelves utter Enemies to ſuch as had procur'd his Baniſhment; So that any man who had been a ſtranger to their Affairs, would certainly have concluded, that ſome other People, and not the very ſame Perſons by whom he was now ſurrounded, had paſs'd the former ſevere Sentence, and condemn'd him of Sacrilege. Hereupon his Eſtate, which had been Confiſcated, was Reſtor'd to him by public Edict; the Prieſts *Eumolpidæ* being alſo commanded to take off his Excommunication, and the Pillars on which the ſame had been engraven, to be thrown into the Sea.

Theſe obliging Smiles of kindeſt Fortune

Fortune were of no conſiderable duration to *Alcibiades*; for when the higheſt Honours had by ſolemn Decree been conferr'd upon him, the Conduct and Management of all Affairs, both Civil and Military, being put into his hands, and *Thraſybulus* and *Adimantus* at his requeſt aſsign'd him for Collegues, paſsing over with a Fleet into *Aſia*, and Fighting unſucceſsfully at * *Cuma*, he fell again into the Diſpleaſure of the Populace. The reaſon hereof was, that they univerſally believ'd him able to accompliſh whatſoever he took in hand; ſo that every ill Succeſs was imputed to his Negligence or Treachery; to the later of which they attributed the unproſperous Attempt made upon *Cuma*; none of them doubting, but that he could have taken the place, had he not been corrupted to the betraying of his Truſt by the *Perſian* King. Indeed the principal cauſe of the ſeveral Calamities that befell him, ſeems to have been the extravagant opinion that all men had conceiv'd of his Valour and Prudence; from whence ſprung the two different Paſsions of Love and Fear; and from whence at length it came to be generally dreaded, leſt pufft up with his great Succeſſes, and ſupported by as great Riches, he ſhould graſp

* Yet are we told by others, that the moſt fatal miſcarriage in this Expedition happen'd upon the Coaſt of *Ionia*; where *Antiochus* (a hot-headed Vice-Admiral) in *Alcibiades*'s abſence, and contrary to his expreſs command, engageing the *Lacedæmonian* Fleet, was ſoundly beaten by the ſame.

graſp at the Soveraignty, and endeavour the Enſlaving of their Free State.

Theſe were the Conſiderations that induc'd them to paſs a Vote for depriving him, tho abſent, of his high Office, and ſubſtituting another in his place; the news whereof being brought to *Alcibiades*, he judg'd it not expedient to return home, and therefore paſſing * over to *Perinthus*, he compleatly fortified the three ſtrong Holds of *Bornos*, *Biſanthe*, and *Macronteichos*; and from thence marching with a ſufficient Body of Men, he ſeems to have been the firſt *Grecian* that made an Inrode into the Countries of *Thrace*; and this he did, as being unwilling to infeſt any part of *Greece*; and judging it more honourable, to enrich himſelf with the Spoils of * *Barbarians*; by which means he not only made great acquiſitions in Wealth and Reputation, but obtain'd of certain *Thracian* * Kings, to be admitted into their Friendſhip and Alliance.

But by no kind of Fortune could *Alcibiades*'s Soul be diveſted of a tender Affection for his Native Country; and this he ſufficiently manifeſted about this time, by the Advice given to *Philocles*, Commander in Chief over the *Athenian* Fleet in the River *Ægos*; *Lyſander*, the

* With certain Forces rais'd and maintain'd at his own charge. *Plut.*

* This word has been a long while us'd to ſignify ſavage, illiterate and unciviliz'd; but was at firſt apply'd by the haughty *Grecians* (as a term of diſtinction) to all Nations whatſoever that ſpoke not their Language.

* His incurſions and depredations being (as we are inform'd by *Plutarch*) made upon a ſort of free People, and ſuch as were ſubject to no King.

Lacedæmonian Admiral lying at no great distance from him, and desiring by all means to prolong the War, because he knew that the *Athenians* had nothing left besides their Weapons and Gallies (their public Exchequer being quite exhausted), and that the Forces of his own Country at the same time were supported and maintain'd by a constant supply of Money from the *Persian* King. Neither were these things conceal'd from *Alcibiades*, who therefore coming to the *Athenian* Army, spoke publicly in the hearing of the common Soldiers to this effect, *That if they pleas'd to accept of his Service, he made no doubt of forcing* Lysander, *with his whole Fleet, to come to the decision of a Battel, or else to make submissive Overtures of Peace. That the* Lacedæmonians *were indeed unwilling to run the hazard of a Sea-fight, because their main strength and confidence lay in their Land-Forces; but that he could easily prevail with* Seuthes, *the* Thracian *King, to drive them from Land, and that then they would be necessitated, either to come to fair terms of Accommodation with the* Athenians, *or venture all upon the doubtful issue of an Engagement at Sea.*

This Advice, as it was not really dislik'd, so neither was it embrac'd by *Phi-*

locles;

locles; who well knew, that if *Alcibiades* were admitted to a conjunction with him, he himself should be but an empty Cipher in the whole Action; and let the Event prove prosperous or otherwise, that on the one hand, he should have no share in the Glory; and on the other, no Partner in the Discredit and Ignominy of such an Undertaking. *Alcibiades* therefore, finding that his Counsel was not accepted, told *Philocles* at his departure, that he would only leave this short caution with him, To ly as near the Enemy as might conveniently be with his Naval Camp; and to take care, lest by the licentiousness and loose Discipline of his Soldiers, the *Lacedæmonians* should have an opportunity put into their hands of surprizing his Fleet, and ruining the whole Army. Nor did the event prove this a groundless apprehension; for shortly after, *Lysander* being inform'd by his Scouts, that the main of the *Athenian* Forces were gone ashore, and were eagerly employ'd in harassing and plundering the Country (their Ships in the mean time being left almost empty and defenceless), by one brisk and sudden Attaque gave their Navy a * total Overthrow, and put an unexpected period to the War.

Conon escap'd only with eight Gallies out of about two hundred (if we believe *Plutarch*) tho our Author in the Life of *Conon* mentions it as a great unhappiness to the *Athenians*, that he was absent at the time of that Engagement. However this was, certain it is, that the *Athenians* were hereupon little less then absolutely Conquer'd, *Lysander* shortly after taking the City of *Athens* it self, and putting the Government thereof into the hands of thirty special Magistrates of his own choice and appointment.

After this fatal blow receiv'd by the *Athenians*, *Alcibiades* judging it unſafe for him to make any longer ſtay in thoſe parts, withdrew into the more inward Regions of *Thrace*, lying above the *Propontis*; not doubting but in ſuch a place his Fortune and Quality might eaſily be kept undiſcover'd. But it was not long e're he found that he was miſtaken; for a Body of *Thracians*, who had information of his great Wealth, placing themſelves in Ambuſcade, ſurpriz'd and plunder'd all his Carriages; wherefore, having himſelf narrowly eſcap'd out of their hands, and conſidering that (by reaſon of the great Power and Authority of the *Lacedæmonians*) no part of *Greece* could afford him a ſafe Retreat, he fled into *Aſia* to *Pharnabazus*, who was preſently ſo taken with his courteous Deportment and obliging Addreſs, that the firſt place in this great Man's Favour ſeem'd to be given to *Alcibiades*; who ſhortly after receiv'd from him, as a ſpecial teſtimony of Affection, the Fortreſs of *Grunium* in *Phrygia*; the Caſtellany whereof yeilded him no leſs then fifty Talents yearly Income.

But this plentiful Fortune brought no real contentment to *Alcibiades*; of which his mind was abſolutely uncapable, ſo long

long as the *Athenian* continued in ſubjection to the *Lacedæmonian* State. The whole bent of his Soul was therefore towards the delivering of his Country from that Inglorious Yoke and Bondage. But this he foreſaw could not be effected without the aſſiſtance of the *Perſian* King, whoſe Amity was therefore to be procur'd in the firſt place; and of that he aſſur'd himſelf, if he might but obtain free acceſs to his Perſon. For having ſecret notice of the * War intended againſt the King by his Brother *Cyrus*, with the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians*; he queſtion'd not, but by diſcovering this Confederacy, he ſhould purchaſe to himſelf the higheſt degree of Favour and Affection.

* Our Author does not term it a Rebellion or Conſpiracy, becauſe *Cyrus* was no Liege ſubject to *Artaxerxes*, their Father *Darius* (as we are told by *Juſtin*) having by Will given the former the abſolute Soveraignty of thoſe Territories over which he had before preſided as his Lieutenant.

While *Alcibiades* was contriving how to put this deſign in execution (having already requeſted of *Pharnabazus*, that he might be admitted into the preſence of the King), *Critias* and the reſt of the *Athenian* * Tyrants diſpatch'd cer-

* He means the thirty Magiſtrates ſet over the *Athenians* by *Lyſander*, and call'd by them Tyrants; a name originally not only of innocent but moſt honourable ſignification, being us'd ſimply for a King, or ſupreme Governor, and apply'd by the *Grecian* Poets even to *Jupiter*, and the reſt of their kindeſt and beſt reſpected Gods: but by a Republican Abuſe of the word brought to connote the greateſt cruelty and oppreſſion; tho the truth is, if a man would be acquainted with Tyrants and Tyranny in that ſence, (in which indeed the words have long ago univerſally obtain'd) he may moſt probably find them where thirty or forty, or perhaps rather (as ſome Nations have ſadly experienc'd) three or four hundred Perſons, are (by what means ſoever) poſſeſs'd of the Soveraign Power.

tain Meſſengers into *Aſia*, by whom they gave *Lyſander* to underſtand, that the Articles agreed upon between Him and the *Athenians* muſt be Ratified by being Seal'd with the Blood of *Alcibiades*; and that the Death of that Man was to be purſu'd by him, as he tender'd the Eſtabliſhment and Perpetuity of his own Exploits and Conſtitutions. *Lyſander* was ſo far wrought upon by this poſitive * Meſſage, that he reſolv'd to deal effectually with *Pharnabazus*, and therefore ſent him expreſs word, that the Alliance between his King and the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould be null and void, unleſs he took care that *Alcibiades*, either alive or dead, were deliver'd into their hands; wherefore the *Perſian* Governor (preferring his Maſter's Intereſt before all the Laws of Humanity and Friendſhip) immediately employ'd *Suſamithres* and *Bagoas* to ſurprize and murther him, as he lay in *Phrygia*, and was * providing for his Journey to the King. Theſe Aſſaſins arriv'd accordingly with great ſpeed and expedition at the place of his abode; and not daring openly to aſſault him, they ſet Fire on the Houſe wherein he lay; as hoping to accompliſh by Stratagem what their Courage deſpair'd of effecting. And yet had they like to

* This muſt be taken not for a menace, but a piece of advice from the Thirty to *Lyſander*, their Intereſt and His being embarqued in the ſame bottom; and they (as may be collected from *Plutarch*) beginning now to be apprehenſive of no ſmall danger from *Alcibiades*, whom they perceiv'd (tho in exile) to be in a fair way of recovering his former eſteem and authority with the common People.

* Others ſay, that *Pharnabazus* being inform'd of *Cyrus*'s deſign by *Alcibiades* (who had in vain deſir'd by his means to have admiſſion to *Artaxerxes*, and was therefore about giving notice of the ſame to another of the Kings Lieutenants) reſolv'd to have him cut off, that ſo the merit of the diſcovery might be wholly his own.

to have been diſappointed in their expectation; for *Alcibiades* being rouz'd by the crackling of the Fire, and miſsing his Sword (which it ſeems had been privily convey'd away) he took the Dagger of his * Friend and Companion (a certain *Arcadian* that Lodg'd with him, and could never be induc'd to deſert him in his loweſt condition), and biding him follow after, paſs'd boldly thorow the Flames; the violence whereof was ſomewhat abated by the throwing in of ſuch Clothes and Houſhold-ſtuff as came next to hand. But before he could make his eſcape, and get quite off, he was overtaken and ſlain by the * Darted Weapons of the diſtant Aſſaſins; by whom his Head being carry'd away as a welcome Preſent to *Pharnabazus*, an affectionate * Female (the conſtant ſharer both of his good and bad Fortune) took the Body, and wrapping it in her own Veſtment, committed it to the Flames; the ſame Fire that had in vain been kindl'd for his Deſtruction when alive, being now converted to the kinder uſes of a Funeral Pile.

Thus dy'd *Alcibiades*, about the Fortieth year of his Age; a perſon of whom we find but a ſcurvy character given by the generality of Writers; yet has he

* Tho our Author terms him *hoſpes* and *familiaris* (which laſt word may indeed be taken to ſignify a menial ſervant) yet by what follows (viz. *qui nunquam diſcedere voluerat*) he ſhould ſeem before this time to have worn off thoſe inferior and diſtant relations.

* He was ſlain with Darts and Arrows, ſays *Plutarch*.

* *Timandra*; ſuppos'd by many to be the Mother of *Lais*, the famous *Corinthian* Courtezan. *Plut.*

obtain'd the higheſt commendations from three very grave and authentic Hiſtorians; *Thucydides*, his Cotemporary; *Theopompus*, a ſomewhat more modern Author; and *Timæus*: The two latter of which were perſons of the moſt cenſorious humour, and obſerv'd (by I know not what ſtrange Fate) to have concurr'd in the Praiſes of no other man but *Alcibiades*. For even by them are the ſame advantageous particulars deliver'd concerning him, which are already related by us, and to which may moreover be added, from the ſame Writers, *That being born in* Athens, *a City for State and Grandeur Second to none, he outwent the Nobleſt of his Fellow-Citizens in Splendour and Magnificence of Life: And yet when driven from hence he arriv'd at* Thebes, *he ſo far comply'd with the Genius of that People* (the *Bœotians* in general employing their time in acquiring a Robuſt Habit of Body, and not in improving the Faculties of the Mind) *that he excell'd them all, as well in ſtrength and firmneſs of Limbs, as in chearfully undergoing the moſt toilſom Labour. When he came among the* Lacedæmonians, *who account it the higheſt pitch of Vertue to endure ſuch kind of hardſhip, he ſo readily accommodated himſelf*

himſelf to their penurious way of Living, that in a little time he had not his Equal for Abſtinence and Parſimony, either in Garb or Diet. After this, dwelling among the Thracians, *a People generally addicted to the Enjoyments of Love and Wine; even here had he alſo the Precedence allow'd him beyond Competition: And coming at length into* Perſia, *where Labour and Induſtry in Hunting, and Luxury and Exceſs in Feeding are of greateſt Reputation, he acquitted himſelf to the admiration of all men. So that whereſoever he came, he got the general Love and Reſpect of the People; being preſently accounted the moſt Accompliſh'd Perſon for ſuch Qualifications as were in every Country of higheſt Eſtimation.* But enough of this Man; let us now proceed to give an account of others.

THE

THE LIFE OF *THRASYBULUS.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Gilman*, M. A. of *Magdalen* Coll. *Oxon.*

THRASYBULUS, the Son of *Lycus*, and by Birth an *Athenian*, was a Perſon whom I ſhould not ſtick to place in the front of all the *Grecian* Worthies, if his Fortune had been any way anſwerable to his Deſerts. Without doubt he outſhone them all in Fidelity, Reſolution, Greatneſs of Soul, and an inviolable Affection for his Country. And altho many boaſted themſelves born of more Ancient Families, yet none outſtripp'd him

him in any other Accompliſhment of a Great Man. Whoever Reſcues his Native Country from the Oppreſſion of one *Tyrant*, does ſo Brave an Action, that many Men have Attempted, but few have had the Honour of Atchieving; yet was it this Man's good Fortune, to Free His, groaning under the intolerable Burthen of Thirty at once. His Valour was firſt fledg'd in the *Peloponneſian* War; where being in a Joint-Commiſſion, he did many great Exploits without *Alcibiades*, tho *Alcibiades* did nothing without Him; all his Actions expreſſing an ardent deſire to promote the Good of the Commonwealth. But in pitch'd Battels the Strength and Number of Forces is as much to be rely'd on as the moſt excellent Conduct; and the private Soldier juſtly claims a ſhare in the Glory of the Action with the Commander. Beſides, Fortune ſometimes lets them know, that Succeſs depends neither upon one nor the other; but is ſolely at her diſpoſal.. Wherefore, the moſt Glorious of all Actions *Thraſybulus* may juſtly claim to be properly his own; For when *Athens* was miſerably haraſs'd and torn by the *Arbitrary Proceedings* of thoſe Thirty Burgomaſters, ſet up (as it were

a *Council*

a *Council of State*) by the *Lacedæmonians*; during whoſe uncontrolable ſway, many of the Eminent Citizens were kill'd, ſome (preſerv'd by Fate from the danger of the War) were baniſh'd, and many others had their Eſtates confiſcated and divided amongſt the Uſurpers: He only (not as a General, but) ſingly Proclaim'd open War againſt them; and when he fled to *Phyle* (the ſtrongeſt and beſt fortified Caſtle in *Attica*) he had ſcarce Thirty Confederates. So weak were the Foundations of the Deſign by which the Liberty of that Illuſtrious City was aſſerted. He was not deſpicable for his Perſon or Parts; but was contemn'd for his inconſiderable Party; which at laſt prov'd of great conſequence to him; as the accompliſhing his Deſign for the Relief of his Country, and the utter and final Ruin of it's Enemies. For they, lull'd in their own ſecurity, neglected a ſpeedy and vigorous proſecution; and conſequently gave him a longer time to make himſelf more conſiderable both for Men and Money. Whence is evinc'd the truth of that common Axiom, *In War no Advantage is to be ſlipt*; and it is not without reaſon ſaid, *The Mother of a Coward need never*

ver Fear. Yet all this while *Thraſybulus*'s Supplies and Aſſiſtances bore no proportion to his Expectations. For even in thoſe days men were more laviſh of their Words then Actions; and more hotly diſputed their Liberty with their Tongues then their Swords. From *Phyle* he march'd to *Pyræum*, and fortifies *Munichia*; which place his Enemies twice attempting to take by Storm, in two general Aſſaults, were as often beat back with conſiderable Damage, and at laſt forc'd to retire into *Athens* with the loſs of all their Arms and Baggage. *Thraſybulus* in the mean time manages his Affair with as great Wiſdom as Courage, and commands that Quarter ſhould be given to all thoſe who would accept it; ſaying, it was but reaſonable, *that Fellow-Citizens ſhould ſpare one another.* Neither indeed was there any perſon hurt afterwards, but thoſe who continued in a poſture of Hoſtility. He ſuffer'd none to be ſtript of their Clothes; nor touch'd any part of the Plunder, only Arms (for which he had urgent occaſion) and Victuals. In this ſecond Conflict fell *Critias*, the primier Burgomaſter, after he had fought valiantly. *Critias* being ſlain, *Pauſanias*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*, comes to

to the Aſſiſtance of the *Athenians*; and at length concludes a Peace between both Parties on theſe Terms: Firſt, That no Citizen (except the Thirty Tyrants, and the Ten Pretors, who exactly Copied thoſe Originals of Cruelty in their Actions) ſhould ſuffer Baniſhment. Secondly, That no Perſon's Eſtate ſhould be Sequeſter'd. And Thirdly, That Democracy ſhould be Reeſtabliſh'd, and the Soveraign Power remain in the hands of the People. One more remarkably great Action of his we muſt by no means forget; When Peace was ſettled, and he bore a great ſway in the City, he Enacted a Law, *That no man ſhould be accus'd, or any way puniſh'd, for any thing that was paſt*. This was afterwards call'd *An Act of Oblivion*. But not ſatisfied with the bare Enacting of ſuch a Law, he took a mighty care in the juſt and ſtrict Execution of it; and check'd ſome of the Partakers of his miſery in Baniſhment, who would have made havock of thoſe men they had ſo lately receiv'd into Favour. For theſe great and illuſtrious Actions, *Thraſybulus* was Honour'd by the People with a Coronet made of Olive-branches; a mean Reward indeed, but attended with theſe Advantages, that

it

it was in no manner extorted, but a voluntary and hearty Teſtimony of the People's Affection; and was therefore an Honour, free from the Detractions of Envy or Emulation. For as *Pittacus* (a man juſtly regiſter'd in the Catalogue of the Seven Wiſe-men of *Greece*) well obſerv'd to the *Mitylenæans*, when they would have given him many thouſand Acres of Land for a Reward; *Don't ye*, ſays he, *give me ſo Noble a Preſent, that many will Envy, and more will Covet; I will only accept of an hundred Acres, which is ſufficient to ſhew your Good Will, and my own Modeſty. Great Favours are often ſnatcht away, whilſt little ones, below Envy, are longer enjoy'd.* *Thraſybulus* therefore, highly pleas'd with this petty Crown, ſought no other Satisfaction; but look'd upon himſelf to be as much Honour'd as any of his Cotemporaries. In proceſs of time, going Admiral to *Cilicia*, and his Soldiers being very remiſs when they were upon their Guard, he was in a Sally ſurpriz'd in his Tent, and ſlain by the *Barbarians*.

THE

THE LIFE OF *CONON.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Jenefar* of *Magdalen* Coll. *Oxon.*

CONON, an *Athenian*, became Great in the Eſteem of the Commonwealth at the *Peloponneſian* War; where his Conduct was ſignally Heroick. For he was Captain-General of the Land-Forces and Admiral at Sea; and perform'd noble Atchivements; which made him the Darling of the People, who Conſtituted him Governor of all their Iſlands; in which Commiſſion he took *Pharæ*, a Colony of the *Lacedæmonians*. He was alſo Captain-General

General in the laſt *Peloponneſian* War, when the Flower of the *Athenian* Army was deſtroy'd by *Lyſander* at the River *Ægos*. But *Conon* was not in Perſon at that Battel; from whence may be concluded the Misfortune of that fatal Day. For he weigh'd every Military Action; and was even jealous in acquitting himſelf like a General. Which makes it highly probable, that his Perſonal Valour and Conduct might have diverted that Maſſacre of the *Athenians*.

Yet in this ſad deſtraction, when he heard the groans of his Country, he conſulted not his own Safety and Retirement, but the Relief of his diſconſolate Country-men. He haſtned therefore to *Pharnabazus*, Lieutenant of *Ionia* and *Lydia*, who was Son in Law to the King; into whoſe Favour he inſinuated himſelf, tho not without great intrigue and hazard. For when the *Lacedæmonians* (*Athens* lying gaſping) had broke their League, which they had made with *Artaxerxes*, and had ſent *Ageſilaus* with an Army into *Aſia* (where he was often Careſs'd by *Tiſſaphernes*, who was formerly the Familiar of the King, but had revolted from all the Endearments of his Prince, and combin'd with the

Lacedæmonians); *Pharnabazus* march'd againſt him as General, ; tho in reality *Conon* was Chief, and his Warlike Judgment controll'd the whole Council. He ſtopt the carier of *Ageſilaus*, that ſo much renown'd Captain, and confounded all his Stratagems; and 'twas the wiſe Conduct of *Conon* which prevented *Ageſilaus* from renting that part of *Aſia* on this ſide *Taurus* from the *Perſian* Empire. *Ageſilaus* being remanded home by the *Lacedæmonians*, who were embroil'd in a War with the *Bœotians* and *Athenians*; *Conon* took that opportunity to ingratiate himſelf with the *Perſian* Nobility; and ſoon became their only Oracle.

At this time the Malecontent *Tiſſaphernes* had quitted the Court, of which the King was only incredulous; ſo great a ſhare had *Tiſſaphernes* in the Royal Favour, tho in this very time of his diſloyal Villany. Neither is it ſtrange, that the King was unwilling to miſtruſt this his Creature, when he call'd to mind, that by his Proweſs he quell'd his Brother *Cyrus*. Therefore *Conon* was ſent by *Pharnabazus* to Accuſe *Tiſſaphernes* before the King; who being arriv'd, according to the Cuſtom of the *Perſians*, he came to *Tithrauſtes*, a Tribune and principal

principal Officer of State, requesting that he might be introduc'd; without which ceremony none are admitted. To whom *Tithraustes* said, there should be no delay; but (said he) you must consult whether it were better to have an Audience, or to signifie your Business by Letter; for if you come into the Royal Presence, you must fall down before the King; which they call * *Divine Homage*: But if you cannot comply with this, trust me to interceed for you, and you shall certainly attain your desire. Then *Conon* reply'd; I could very chearfully pay any Honour to the King, but I fear lest it should be a dishonourable blemish to my Country, if I should prostitute my self to the Slavery of a *Barbarian*, who came from that People who by Nature are accustom'd to Govern. He therefore deliver'd his Business in a Letter; which being made known to the King, he was so taken with his Commanding Deportment, that he proclaim'd *Tissaphernes* a Traitor, commission'd *Conon* to Fight the *Lacedæmonians*, and to elect whom he pleas'd to raise Money for the War. Which choice *Conon* modestly deny'd to be in his Province, but in the King's, who

* *Græci vocant προσκυνέιν venerabundè salutare.*

beſt underſtood the Condition of his People; yet that it was his humble Advice, that he would confer that Office on *Pharnabazus*. After this, being honour'd with great Preſents, he was commiſſion'd to Sea, that he might convey the Galleys to the *Cyprians*, *Phœnicians*, with the other Port-Towns; and that he ſhould Rig a Navy, to ſecure the Seas the following Summer; in which Commiſſion *Pharnabazus* was his Collegue, as he had petition'd. So ſoon as the *Lacedæmonians* heard this, they acted with great judiciouſneſs, becauſe they foreſaw a more dangerous War, then if they had been engag'd only againſt the petulant *Perſian*. For they were now to grapple with a bold and wary General, intruſted with the whole *Perſian* Power; againſt whom their Stratagems of War were as ridiculouſly vain as their Strength. With this reſolution they contract a formidable Navy, and ſet Sail under *Piſander*; whom *Conon* aſſaulted at the River *Cnidus*, and after a deſperate Fight routed; many Ships he took, and many he ſunk; by which Victory not only *Athens* but all *Greece* was freed from the Yoke of the *Lacedæmonians*. *Conon* with part of the Navy

Navy return'd to his own Country, was very ſolicitous in rebuilding the Walls of *Athens*, with the Haven *Pyræum*, which were demoliſh'd by *Lyſander*; and gave his Fellow-Citizens Fifty Talents, which he had receiv'd of *Pharnabazus*.

Yet it happen'd to this Great Man as to the Ignoble Peſantry, who was more improvident in the ſmoother then in the rugged part of his Life; for having vanquiſh'd the *Peloponneſian* Squadrons, and ſatisfied the revengeful thirſt of his Country, he aim'd at higher things then his Policy could poſsibly reach; all which Attempts were Pious and Honourable, in as much as he preferr'd the welfare of *Athens* before the King's. For when he had acquir'd a ſplendid Eminency by the Sea-Fight at *Cnidus*, he began ſlily to whiſper among the *Perſians* and all the Cities of *Greece*, that *Ionia* and *Æolis* ſhould be ſurrendred to the *Athenians*. But this deſign taking vent, *Teribazus* Lieutenant of *Sardis*, inveighled *Conon* to come to him, pretending to ſend him to the King upon an Embaſſy of great importance. *Conon* obey'd the Meſſage; and as ſoon as he arriv'd, was ſecur'd in Fet-

ters, which he bore for ſome time. Others write, that he was brought to the King, and dy'd there. Yet *Dinon* the Hiſtorian, in whom we moſt confide in *Perſian* Story, informs us, that he eſcap'd; and ſeems only to doubt, whether it were by the deſign or inadvertency of *Teribazus*.

THE

THE LIFE OF *DION.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Clarke*, M. A. and Fellow of *All-Souls* Coll. *Oxon.*

DION of *Syracuſe*, Son to *Hipparinus*, deſcended from a Noble Family, and was of Kin to both *Dionyſius's*, the Tyrants. For the Elder of them married his Siſter *Ariſtomache*; by whom he had two Sons, *Hipparinus* and *Nyſæus*; and as many Daughters, *Sophroſyne* and *Areta*. *Sophroſyne* he gave to his Son and Succeſſor *Dionyſius*, and *Areta* was allotted to be *Dion's* Wife; who, beſides his Noble Relations, and the Reputation deriv'd

to him from his Anceſtors, was oblig'd to Nature for many rare Endowments; among which, an * Aptneſs to Learn, a * Courteous Behaviour, and a Diſpoſition to brave Actions, were conſpicuous: Nor was he leſs happy in a comly and graceful Preſence. Beſides, his Father left him a vaſt Eſtate, which was encreas'd by the * Gifts of the Tyrant. He had a great intimacy with *Dionyſius* the Father, to which his Perſonal Merits were as inſtrumental as his Affinity; for tho he lik'd not *Dionyſius*'s Cruelty, yet he endeavour'd his Safety, upon account of their Alliance, but chiefly with reſpect to his own Relations. He was conſulted with in matters of the greateſt concern; and the Tyrant was very much ſway'd by his Advice, unleſs in thoſe things where the prevalence of his own Affections over-rul'd. All Embaſſies of note were perform'd by him; in which his Civility, together with his faithful and diligent Adminiſtration of Affairs, took off from that Imputation of Cruelty, which *Dionyſius* generally lay under. The *Carthaginians*, to whom he was ſent by the Tyrant, honour'd him highly, inſomuch that they never had any *Grecian* in more Admiration. Neither was *Dionyſius* ignorant

* *Plato* ſays the ſame in his 7th Epiſtle.

* Contradicted by *Plutarch* in his Life, and *Plato* in his 4th Epiſtle, at the end.

* The Treaſurers had orders to give him what ever he deſired. *Plut.*

norant of theſe things, nor unſenſible how great an ornament he was to him; from whence it came to paſs, that *Dion* was moſt in his Favour, and lov'd by him as a Son: So that when 'twas reported in *Sicily*, that *Plato* was come to *Tarentum*, he did not only give the young Man (who had a great deſire to be one of his Hearers) leave to invite him thither; but after the grant, brought him in great ſtate to *Syracuſe*. For him *Dion* had ſo great a love and veneration, that he wholly yeilded himſelf to his diſpoſal; which was anſwer'd by *Plato*, who took no leſs delight in him. For altho he was cruelly misus'd by the Tyrant, who gave order he ſhould be ſold for a Slave; yet at *Dion*'s requeſt he had leave to return. In the mean time *Dionyſius* fell ſick; and his Diſtemper encreaſing upon him, *Dion* went to the Phyſitians, to enquire *how he did*; *and withall entreated them to let him know, if his Life were in great danger, becauſe he intended to diſcourſe him about dividing the Kingdom*; *part of it, in his opinion, being due to thoſe Sons his Siſter had by him.* This Enquiry, the Phyſitians did not conceal, but carried it to *Dionyſius* the Younger; who was ſo much con-

* He ſurfeited at a Feaſt which He made for joy he was declared Victor in Poetry. *Diod. Sicul.* lib. 15.

concern'd, that to prevent any conference between *Dion* and his Father, he forc'd the Phyſitians to give the later a ſleeping Potion; which the old man took, and ſlept his laſt.

Such was the beginning of the quarrel between *Dionyſius* and *Dion*; which many things afterwards fomented. However, for ſome time there remain'd an appearance of Friendſhip; ſo that *Dion* being urgent with him, to ſend for *Plato* from *Athens*, and make uſe of his Counſel, he comply'd with his deſire, that in ſomething he might be like his Father, and at the ſame time brought * *Philiſtus* the Hiſtorian back to *Syracuſe*, a man who was equally a Friend to the Tyrant and his Tyranny. But of this I have ſaid more in my Book of the *Greek* Hiſtorians. As for *Plato*, his Eloquence and Authority ſo much influenc'd *Dionyſius*, that by his perſwaſion he was reſolv'd to reſtore the *Syracuſians* their Liberties, and put an end to the Tyranny; but being deterr'd by *Philiſtus* from executing his intention, he became more Cruel then before. Finding therefore, that *Dion* had the advantage of him in Parts, in Authority, and the Love of the People, he fear'd their ſtaying

* *Plato* calls him *Philiſtides*. Epiſt. 3.

ſtaying together might be an occaſion of his own Ruin; upon which he gave him a Gally to tranſport him to *Corinth*; telling him withall, that what he did was for both their ſakes; leſt out of the mutual fear which was between them, one might be apt to ſupplant the other. This action was highly reſented by many, and drew great envy upon the Tyrant; who to make the World believe, that he did it not out of hatred to the man, but meerly for his own ſecurity, Shipp'd off all his Moveables and ſent them to him. But * afterwards, when he heard that *Dion* was raiſing Forces in *Peloponneſus*, with deſign if he were able to fall upon him, he married his Wife *Areta* to * another; and order'd his * Sons Education in ſuch manner, that by giving him his ſwing he might be tainted with all ſorts of Vices. For while he was yet a Boy, they brought him Whores, and ſo ply'd him with Wine and Feaſts, that he never had leiſure to be ſober. Inſomuch, that when his Father return'd, and ſet Governors over him, to reclaim him from his former way of living; he, not able to endure ſuch a change in his courſe of life, threw himſelf from the top of the Houſe, and ended his days.

* *Plutarch* ſays, that the Marriage of *Areta* to *Timocrates* was before *Dion's* Preparations for War.

* *Timocrates.*

* *Hipparinus*, or *Hipparion*, or as *Timæus* ſays, *Aretæus.*

But

But to return; After *Dion* was come to *Corinth*, and *Heraclides*, General of the Horſe, * driven away by the ſame *Dionyſius*, fled thither alſo; they haſten'd their preparations for War, with all diligence, yet made but ſmall progreſs; for few adventur'd to run the ſame risk they did, becauſe a Tyranny of ſo many year's continuance, was by every one eſteem'd very formidable. But *Dion*, who more rely'd on the ill will that all people bore the Tyrant, then the ſtrength of his own Forces, with only two Merchant-Ships, undauntedly went againſt a Government which had ſtood for Fifty years, guarded with five hundred long Ships, ten thouſand Horſe, and an hundred thouſand Foot; and to the aſtoniſhment of the World, ſo eaſily overran it, that within three days of his landing in *Sicily* he entred *Syracuſe* it ſelf. From whence it is evident, *That no Empire is Safe which is not Guarded by Love.* At that time *Dionyſius* was in *Italy*, expecting the Fleet; and did not imagine, that any of his Enemies durſt venture upon him without conſiderable Forces. In which he was miſtaken; for *Dion*, with thoſe very men which were under his Adverſary's dominion, abated the

* Being ſuſpected to be the cauſe that the Veterans mutiny'd, when *Dionyſius* was about to leſſen their pay. *Plato.* Epiſt. 7.

* *Syracuſe* was taken the 48th year of the Tyranny. *Plut.* Olymp. 106. an. 1. *Diod. Sicul.*

the Tyrant's Arrogance; and made himſelf Maſter of all that part of *Sicily* which was in ſubjection to *Dionyſius*, as he did of *Syracuſe* likewiſe, except the Citadel, and the Iſland adjoining to the Town. Whereupon the matter was brought to that paſs, that the Tyrant was contented to make Peace on the following Articles: *That* Dion *ſhould have* Sicily, Dionyſius *poſſeſs* Italy, *and* Syracuſe *be in the hands of* Apollocrates, *a man in whom* Dionyſius *repos'd the greateſt truſt*. But this unexpected proſperity was attended with a ſudden change; Fortune by her fickleneſs attempting to ruine him, whom juſt before ſhe had exalted. The firſt token of her malice, ſhe ſhew'd in his Son, whom I mention'd before; for having brought back his Wife, who was given to another, and being deſirous to reſcue his Son from the Debauchery in which he had been bred, and reduce him to his former Sobriety, he receiv'd a grievous blow by the Death of his Child. The next misfortune, was the Diſſention between him and *Heraclides*; who made a Faction, rather then he would yeild the priority to *Dion*, and had as much intereſt among the Nobility as he; for by

by their conſent he commanded the Naval Forces, at the ſame time when the other did thoſe at Land. This *Dion* could not brook; and repeated thoſe Verſes in the ſecond Iliad of *Homer*, to this purpoſe, *That a State cannot be well order'd, where the Government is in the hands of many*. The Saying rais'd him much envy, for by it he ſeem'd to diſcover an intention of getting all into his own power; which opinion he endeavour'd not to leſſen by complaiſance, but ſuppreſs by rigor; and caus'd *Heraclides*, when he came to *Syracuſe*, to be kill'd. An action which ſtruck every body with fear; no man thinking himſelf ſafe, now *Heraclides* was thus taken out of the way. But *Dion*, being rid of his Adverſary, with more licence diſtributed the Eſtates of the contrary Party among his Soldiers. After which diviſion, by reaſon of the greatneſs of his daily expences, he quickly began to want Money; which he knew no way to be ſupply'd with, but by ſiezeing his Friends poſſeſſions; upon which it happen'd, that the gaining the Soldier prov'd the loſs of the Nobility. Theſe things he took very much to heart; and being unaccuſtom'd to be ill ſpoken of, could

could not endure to be in diſrepute with thoſe who a little before had prais'd him to the Skies. For the Rabble perceiving the Soldiers were offended with him, ſpoke more openly, and often reproacht him with intolerable Tyranny. As *Dion* was in this perplexity, not being able to appeaſe their Commotions, and was afraid of the conſequence; * *Callicrates* an *Athenian*, one that accompanied him from *Peloponneſus* to *Sicily*, a cunning fraudulent Fellow, without any ſenſe of Religion or Honeſty, came to him, and told him the danger he was in, by reaſon of the diſguſt of the People, and hatred of the Soldiers; which, without employing one of his Friends to feign himſelf his Enemy, 'twas impoſſible to avoid; but if he found one fit for this affair, he might eaſily know their deſigns, and ruin his Adverſaries, who would certainly declare their intentions to one that ſeem'd at variance with him. The Advice being approv'd, *Callicrates* took upon himſelf to put it in execution; and being advantaged by *Dion*'s unwarineſs, ſought for Aſſociates to kill him, had Meetings with his Enemies, and confirm'd the Conſpiracy. But many being privy to the buſineſs, it was divulg'd

* *Calippus. Plut.*

vulg'd, and brought to *Ariſtomache*, *Dion*'s Siſter, and *Areta* his Wife; who in a fright ran with the news to him, for whoſe Safety they were ſo much concern'd. He aſſur'd them, that *Callicrates* meant him no harm; and what he did, was by his order. However, the Women not ſatisfied with this, got *Callicrates* to *Proſerpine*'s Temple, and forc'd him to * ſware, that *Dion* ſhould receive no miſchief from him. Which Religious Act was ſo far from making him quit his deſign, that 'twas a means to haſten the execution; he fearing the Plot might be diſcover'd before it had taken effect. Being thus reſolv'd, the next * Feſtival-Day, when *Dion* was lay'd down privately at home in an upper Chamber, he put the ſtrongeſt places of the City into the hands of the Conſpirators; and having ſurrounded the Houſe with Soldiers, commanded ſome of them not to ſtir from the Doors. And that he might not be deſtitute of means to eſcape, if Fortune ſhould prove croſs to his Deſigns, he furniſh'd a Galley with Men and Arms; and order'd his Brother *Philocrates*, who commanded it, to keep it moving in the Port, as if he only intended the exerciſe of the Rowers. Beſides,

* *Plutarch* tells us, the manner of his taking this Oath: After ſome Holy Rites, he had the Goddeſſes Purple Robe thrown about him, with a burning Torch put in his hand, and ſo forſware what he was accus'd of. It was call'd ὅρκος μέγας, or the *Great Oath*; of which there were ſeveral ſorts.

* κουρεώτις ἑορτὴ ſacred to Proſerpine, for on that day they ſhaved their Childrens heads, (and ſacrificed to Her) one of the ceremonies us'd at the Enrollment of their Children in their Tribes, which was done at this time. *Suid.* and *Plut.*

ſides, he choſe ſome *Zacynthians* of his own Family, ſtrong daring Fellows, and bid them go to *Dion* unarm'd, that ſo it might ſeem they came only to pay him a Viſit. Their familiarity in the Family immediately gain'd them admittance into his Chamber; where, as ſoon as they were enter'd, they faſten'd the Doors, fell upon him in his Bed, and bound him; which was not done ſo ſilently, but the noiſe was heard without. Hence it is evident, as I have often ſaid before, how odious a thing the Government of a ſingle Perſon is; and how miſerable a Life they lead, who had rather be the object of their Subject's Fear than Love. For his very Guards, had they bore him any kindneſs, might have broke open the Doors, and ſav'd his Life; the Conſpirators being forc'd for want of Arms to keep him alive 'till they could procure a Weapon of thoſe who were out of the Chamber. But no body coming to his reſcue, one *Lyco* a *Syracuſian*, reach'd them a Sword thro the Window, with which they diſpatch'd him. The multitude after his death came to look upon him, and not knowing the Murderers, kill'd ſeveral whom they ſuſpected of the fact. For it being

nois'd that *Dion* was ſlain, many who diſlik'd the action ran thither, and upon a falſe ſurmiſe kill'd the Innocent inſtead of the Guilty. As ſoon as his Death was publicly known, 'twas ſtrange to ſee how the People's minds were chang'd; for they who in his Life-time afforded him no better a name then Tyrant, now call'd him the Expeller of the Tyrant, and Deliverer of his Country; and ſo ſuddenly was Hatred ſucceeded by Compaſſion, that if it had been poſſible, they would have redeem'd his Life at the expence of their own. Wherefore by public Order he was buried in the moſt Honourable place of the City, and by the ſame had a Tomb erected. He died in the five and fiftieth year of his Age, and the fourth after his return from *Peloponneſus* into *Sicily*.

THE

THE LIFE OF *IPHICRATES.*

Done into *English* by Mr. *Allam*, M.A. of *St. Edmund*-Hall, *Oxon.*

IPHICRATES, the *Athenian*, became famous to Posterity, rather by his accurate Skill in the Art of War, than the Gallantry of any Noble Atchievements. For he was so perfectly furnish'd with all the necessary Accomplishments requisite to complete a General, that he not only attain'd the Excellencies of his most eminent Cotemporaries, but might justly dispute

Preeminence with the Chief of former Ages. He was ſo very well experienc'd in Martial Affairs, that being often entruſted with the Command of entire Armies, he never was defeated by any failure or default of his own; and what Victory ſoever he obtain'd, it appear'd principally to be owing to his Prudence and Conduct. So great was his Judgment in all things relating to War, that he both advanc'd the Military Diſcipline by additional Rules to a far greater perfection than it ever had before his time, and improv'd thoſe few ſcatter'd ones he met with to the beſt advantage. He alſo made moſt commodious and beneficial alterations in the Arms of the Infantry; for whereas before his time broad unweildy Shields, ſhort Spears, and little Swords were only in uſe, he chang'd the firſt of them into a lighter Target, made ſomewhat in ſhape of an Half-Moon, call'd *Pelta*, from whence the Foot afterwards receiv'd the name of *Peltaſtæ*; and by this more portable Buckler, he did not only expedite their Marches, but made them capable of receiving their Enemy's onſets with greater readineſs and activity. As for the Sword, he augmented its

its length, but doubled that of the Spear; changing moreover their Breaſt-Armour from Iron and Braſs to thoſe made of Linnen; which render'd his Soldiers fitter for Action; and by thus leſſening their weight, he at once provided for their eaſe and ſecurity too. He was engag'd in a War with the *Thracians*, and reſtor'd *Seuthes*, an Ally of the *Athenians*, to his Kingdom. At *Corinth* he kept the Army to ſo ſtrict Diſcipline, that there were in no part of *Greece* to be found better Train'd Forces; or any who with ſo great readineſs receiv'd and perform'd the Commands of a General, even in the moſt minute particulars; for by his pains and induſtry they grew ſo expert in all Military Orders and Poſtures, that as ſoon as ever he had but once given the Word of Command, they would immediately form themſelves into as regular a Figure, as if the moſt skilful Commander had rank'd each private Soldier in his particular place. With this Army he intercepted a ſelect Party of the *Lacedæmonian* Horſe; which Action was very much extoll'd throughout all *Greece*. In the ſame War he gave their whole Strength a ſecond total Defeat; which alſo procur'd him a large

ſtock of Honour. *Artaxerxes* purpoſing to fight the King of *Egypt*, made it his requeſt to the *Athenians*, that they would grant him *Iphicrates*, whom he deſign'd as Commander in Chief over his Mercenary Forces, the ſame amounting to the number of twelve thouſand men; and having obtain'd his deſire, he inſtructed them ſo fully and exactly in the whole Art of War, that as formerly the beſt *Roman* Soldiers were diſtinguiſh'd from the meaner ſort by bearing the name of their Leader *Fabius*; ſo the *Grecians* had thoſe under the Command of *Iphicrates* in the higheſt eſteem. When he went to aſſiſt the *Lacedæmonians*, he ſoon put a ſtop to the Attempts of *Epaminondas*; for had he not haſten'd his March, the *Thebans* would not have rais'd the Siege of *Sparta*, till they had laid it waſte in Aſhes, and utter ruin. The greatneſs of his Spirit bore an equal proportion with that of his Body; his Preſence being very Majeſtic and Commanding, did ſo clearly beſpeak him what really he was, that his bare look of it ſelf was ſufficient to ſtrike all Beholders with an Admiration of his Perſon. *Theopompus* has recorded, that he was remiſs in matters which requir'd con-

continu'd Labour, and that he could not well brook the hardſhips of War; yet he had ſtill the character of a good Citizen given him, and was always reputed a Man of a ſteddy and untainted Fidelity; of which, as on ſeveral other occaſions he gave moſt undeniable proofs, ſo he did in a more peculiar manner ſignalize it by protecting the diſtreſs'd Orphans of *Amyntas* the *Macedonian*. For *Euridice* the Mother of *Perdiccas* and *Philip*, upon her Husband's death, preſently fled with her two Fatherleſs Children to *Iphicrates* for ſuccour and patronage; who being rich, generouſly aſſerted their juſt Rights againſt all kinds of wrong and oppreſſion. He died old, in the Love and Favour of his Fellow-Citizens; tho their Affections had been for ſome time alienated from him; for he, and *Timotheus*, were forc'd to make their public Defences in the Aſſociated War; and he was acquitted by thoſe who were conſtituted his Judges. He left behind him a Son call'd *Meneſtheus*, whom he had by a *Thracian* Woman, Daughter to King *Cotus*; who being ask'd, *which he lov'd beſt, his Father or Mother?* reply'd, *his Mother*. And when all the Company won-

wonder'd at the ſeeming ſtrangeneſs of the Anſwer, he told them, *That he did not return that Anſwer, but upon very good reaſons; For my Father*, ſaith he, *by Marrying a* Barbarian *us'd his utmoſt endeavours that I ſhould be one alſo; but my Mother did as much as in her lay to make me the Son of an* Athenian.

THE

THE LIFE OF *CHABRIAS.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Kennett*, of *St. Edmund*-Hall *Oxon.*

CHABRIAS was an *Athenian*; one that bore a Name in the Catalogue of their greateſt Commanders; and perform'd ſeveral Exploits that very well deſerve the Recording. Among which, there ought more eſpecially to be remarqu'd, that Stratagem which he made uſe of at *Thebes*, when he came to aſſiſt the *Bœotians*: For in that Engagement *Ageſilaus*, the *Lacedæmonian* General, being very confident of obtaining the Victory, and having made ſo great a ſtep toward it,

as

as the putting to flight all the Mercenary Forces of the Adverſe Party; *Chabrias* procur'd the other Troops to keep their ſtation, while by his own example of kneeling down upon his Buckler, and holding out his Spear or Pike aſſaunt, he taught them in that manner to expect the onſet of the Enemy. *Ageſilaus* being ſurpriz'd at ſo unwonted a ſight, durſt make no farther attempt upon them, but immediately ſounded a Retreat, and thereby ſummon'd his Soldiers to fall back, when they were juſt ready to have made the aſſault. This contrivance was ſo much applauded throughout all *Greece*, that *Chabrias* order'd himſelf to be drawn in that defenſive poſture in the Statue which was erected for him in the *Forum* at *Athens*, at the public charge of that City. And from hence it commenc'd a cuſtom, that ever after all Gladiators, and other Fencers, were wont to have their Statues carv'd to the ſame poſture wherein they had got their reſpective Victories. But to return, *Chabrias* wag'd ſeveral Wars in *Europe*, while he was commiſſion'd a General of the *Athenians*; and behav'd himſelf bravely in *Egypt*, when he ſerv'd as a private Voluntier. Going to the help of *Nectanebus*, he

he got him ſetled in his Kingdom. He came off with as good ſucceſs at *Cyprus*; tho there indeed he was publicly appointed by the *Athenians* as a Collegue with *Evagoras*; nor did he diſpatch from hence till he had ſubdued the whole Iſland; and from the happy management of this Enterprize, the *Athenians* purchas'd themſelves a vaſt credit. In the mean while aroſe a War between the *Perſians* and *Egyptians*; the *Athenians* enter'd into League with *Artaxerxes* King of *Perſia*, and the *Lacedæmonians* ſided with the *Egyptians*; of whom *Ageſilaus*, King of *Lacedæmon*, made a very conſiderable advantage. *Chabrias* taking notice of this, and thinking himſelf no way inferior to *Ageſilaus*, frankly offer'd his Service to the aſſiſtance of the *Egyptians*; and was made Admiral of their Fleet, *Ageſilaus* being Commander of their Infantry. Upon this, the Captains who were employ'd by the King of *Perſia*, diſpatcht Meſſengers to *Athens*, to complain that *Chabrias* took part with the *Egyptians* in a War againſt their Maſter. The *Athenians* hereupon fix'd a day, by which time if *Chabrias* return'd not, they threatned he ſhould forfeit his Life, for diſobeying

obeying the Summons. *Chabrias* at this news comes back to *Athens*; yet ſtay'd there no longer than was juſt neceſſary to avoid the penalty which was otherwiſe denounc'd againſt him. For he was not fond of reſiding among his own Countrymen; having liv'd ſo ſplendidly, and far'd ſo high, that he could not but raiſe the Envy of the Rabble. For this indeed is a common fault in Great and Free Cities, That Envy is always faſten'd upon Glory; and moſt Perſons are extreme forward in detracting from thoſe, who are promoted to be their Superiors. And, what is ordinary to obſerve, the Poor cannot without regret at their own harder Fate, caſt an eye upon the more ample Fortunes of the Rich. *Chabrias* upon theſe conſiderations was as much abroad as his Affairs could diſpenſe with. And herein he was not ſingular, in his caution of ſtaying little at home in *Athens*; for almoſt all their eminent men took the ſame courſe; thinking themſelves ſo far remov'd from Envy as they were diſtant from their own Native Country. *Conon* for this reaſon liv'd the moſt part in *Cyprus*, *Iphicrates* in *Thrace*, *Timotheus* in *Lesbus*, and *Chares* in *Sigæum*. This *Chares*, it is true,

true, was different from the reſt both in Temper and Action; yet he was a Perſon of great Honour and Wealth at *Athens*. But finally, *Chabrias* came thus to his end, in the Social War; The *Athenians* laid Siege to *Chium*, *Chabrias* was in the Navy only as a Reformade, yet he had greater Authority than any who were in places of Command; the Common Soldiers paying more reſpect to him than to any of their Officers, which prov'd the occaſion of haſtning his Death: For whilſt he was ambitious of making the firſt Entrance into the Harbour, and accordingly had directed the Pilot to ſteer in, this Adventure coſt him his Life; for when he was got in, none of the other Veſſels would follow; whereupon, being ſurrounded with the Attacks of the Enemy, he fought couragiouſly, till the Ship ſprung a Leak, by ſome damage toward the Head, and began to ſink under him. Hereupon, being unable to make any eſcape; for if he had thrown himſelf overboard, the *Athenians* would have took him up as he ſwum; he therefore choſe rather to dye in his ſtation, than to lay down his Arms and quit the Ship. None of the other Sea-men would run the ſame hazard,

zard, but leap'd out, and eſcap'd ſafe to ſhore; while *Chabrias*, preferring an honourable Death before an ignoble and ſlaviſh Life, fighting hand to hand upon the Deck, was at laſt kill'd on the place.

THE

THE LIFE OF *TIMOTHEUS.*

Done into *Engliſh* by the Honourable Mr. *Booth*, of *Ch. Ch.* Coll. *Oxon.*

TIMOTHEUS, the Son of *Conon*, an *Athenian*, encreas'd his Hereditary Honour by his own Acquir'd Virtues; for he was Eloquent, Stout, and Induſtrious; and no leſs famous for the management of Civil than Military Affairs. He perform'd many eminent Exploits; but theſe following ſeem the moſt notable: He conquer'd the *Olynthians* and *Byzantins*, and took *Samos*; in which Enterprize (the year before) the *Athenians* had ſpent

ſpent two hundred thouſand Talents, yet *Timotheus* gain'd this Iſland without putting the Public to any Expence. He manag'd the War againſt *Cotys*, and took a Booty from him, for the Commonwealth, worth two hundred thouſand Talents. He alſo rais'd the Siege of *Cyzicus*; and accompany'd *Ageſilaus* when he went to aſſiſt *Ariobarzanes*; of whom when *Ageſilaus* receiv'd preſent Pay, *Timotheus* choſe rather to increaſe the Poſſeſſions of his Fellow-Citizens, then accept of that his own private Family could only partake of; therefore he took *Erichthon* and *Seſtus*.

Timotheus being made Admiral of the Navy, ſailing along by *Peloponneſus*, he waſted the Country of *Laconia*, and beat their Fleet. He reduc'd *Corcyra* under the Government of the *Athenians*, with their Confederates of *Epirus*, *Acarnania*, and *Chaonia*, and all the Countries that border'd upon that Sea. By which Action of his, the *Lacedæmonians* were forc'd to let fall their old Quarrel, and voluntarily to offer the *Athenians* the Dominion of the Seas; a Peace being Concluded between theſe two Commonwealths, one Article was, *That the* Athenians *ſhould be Lords at Sea.* So great Joy

Joy was there at *Athens* upon the news of this Victory, that then it was that public Altars were firſt Erected to the Goddeſs of Peace, and a Pallet appointed Her. The Memory of which noble Act, that they might perpetuate, they erected a Statue for him in the *Forum*; which Honour was never pay'd to any man before him, *viz.* That the ſame People who had ſet up a Statue for the Father ſhould give the Son one to; the laſt ſerving to revive the Memory of the former.

When *Timotheus* was very ancient, and had quite left off all public buſineſs, War began to threaten the *Athenians* on every ſide. *Samus* and *Helleſpont* revolted; and *Philip* of *Macedon*, being very powerful, made great Preparations for a War. Againſt whom, when they had ſent *Chares*, they thought him not ſtrong enough to oppoſe him; and thereupon make *Meneſtheus* (the Son of *Iphicrates*, and Son-in-Law to *Timotheus*) their General; and order him to go to the War. They alſo ſend along with him his Father and Father-in-Law, to be his Councellors; Men excelling in Experience and Wiſdom, whoſe Advice he ſhould always follow, becauſe they were

Perſons of ſuch Authority, that there was great hopes by their means they might recover all they had loſt. When theſe two were gone to *Samos*, and *Chares* had intelligence of it, he drew all his Forces thither, leſt there ſhould be any Action in his abſence. It ſo happen'd, that when they came near the Iſland, there aroſe a great ſtorm; for the avoiding of which, the two old Generals thought it very expedient, to caſt Anchor. But *Chares*, without any conſideration, not obeying the Commands of his Councellors, but as if he had Fortune in the Ship with him, draws near to Engage; and ſends a Meſſenger to *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates*, commanding them to follow him. This Attempt having ſucceeded ill, and loſing a conſiderable number of his Ships, he retires back again from whence he came, and diſpatches an Expreſs to *Athens*, to let them know, that he could eaſily have taken *Samos*, had he not been deſerted by *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates*. Upon this Accuſation of his, they were Impeach'd. The Commons, who were fierce, jealous, factious, changeable, and Enemies alſo to all in Power, call them home; and accuſe them of betraying their Country.

In

In this Trial *Timotheus* is caſt, and Fin'd an hundred Talents; and ſo being compell'd, through the ill will of an ungrateful City, he retires to *Calcis*. After his Death, the People repenting of the Sentence they had paſs'd upon him, remitted all but a tenth part of his Fine, and oblige his Son *Conon* to repair part of a Wall. In which Action may be ſeen the various turns of Fortune; for thoſe very Walls which the Grandfather *Conon* had Rebuilt with the Spoils of the Enemy, is the Nephew forc'd to Repair out of his own Eſtate, to the great Scandal of his Family. We might produce many inſtances of the Wiſdom and Moderation of *Timotheus*; but one ſhall ſuffice; from whence we may eaſily conjecture, how dear he was to his Friends. When he was but a young Man, he was forc'd at *Athens* to plead for himſelf; and not only his Friends and private Acquaintance came to his Aſſiſtance, but alſo *Jaſon* the Tyrant, who at that time was a Man of very conſiderable Power. This Man, tho in his own Kingdom, never thought himſelf ſafe without his Guards about him, yet came alone to *Athens*, valuing his Friend at ſo dear a rate, that he rather

choſe to endanger his own Life, than not aſsiſt *Timotheus* in vindicating his Honour. But notwithſtanding all this, *Timotheus* ſoon after, by the Command of the People, fought againſt him; accounting the obligations to his Country greater than thoſe of Friendſhip. This was the laſt Age of the *Athenian* Commanders; for after *Iphicrates*, *Chabrias*, and *Timotheus*, there was no Commander of any note in that City.

THE

THE LIFE OF *DATAMES.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Edwards*, M.A. and Fellow of St. *John's* Coll. *Oxon.*

DATAMES a *Carian*, the Son of *Camiſſares* by a *Scythian* Lady, was the moſt conſiderable, for Valour and prudent Conduct, of any of thoſe of the *Barbarous* Nations, except the two famous *Carthaginians*, *Hamilcar* and *Hannibal*. What he did was great, and out of the uſual road; yet ſo little known, that we are oblig'd to be the larger in our Account of him: For he

never ow'd his Succeſs to the greatneſs of his Army, or to any of the common cauſes of it; but always to that which ſeem'd his peculiar Talent, a moſt extraordinary Policy. His firſt Employment was in the Guards at *Artaxerxes* his Court; but his Father, as the Reward of his eminent Courage and Conſtant Fidelity to the King, had the Government of that part of *Cilicia* which lyes upon *Capadocia*, and is inhabited by the *Leucoſyrians*. *Datames* having a Command in the Army, firſt ſignaliz'd himſelf in the War againſt the *Caduſians*; in which there were many thouſands kill'd, and chiefly by his means; for which Service, *Camiſſares* likewiſe falling in the Battel, he ſucceeded him in the Province.

Autophradates being ſent by the King to reduce ſome to their obedience who had revolted, he behav'd himſelf with equal Gallantry; for by his management a ſmall Party ſurpriz'd the Enemy in their Camp, and deſtroy'd them; the greateſt part of the Army doing no ſervice at all in the Action. After this, he was remov'd to higher Employments; for *Thyus*, the Prince of *Paphlagonia*, (deſcended from that *Pylæmenes* which *Homer* ſays was ſlain by *Patroclus* in the *Trojan*

Trojan War) not ſufficiently complying with the King, *Datames* (who was his Couſin-German) was ſent with an Army to force his ſubmiſſion to the King's Pleaſure. But he intending to uſe his utmoſt endeavours, to make his Relation ſenſible of his Duty upon eaſie terms, and not ſuſpecting any Treachery from a Friend, went to him without any Attendants; Altho his Confidence put him in extream danger; for *Thyus* had reſolv'd upon a private Aſſaſination. *Datames* having intelligence of the deſign from his Mother, who was *Thyus's* Aunt, and underſtood his intentions, made his eſcape, and immediately proclaim'd the War; which he vigorouſly continued, tho he was deſerted by *Ariobarzanes* the Governor of *Lydia*, *Ionia*, and all *Phrygia*; and made not only *Thyus*, but his Wife and Children too, his Captives.

He made all the haſte imaginable, that the news of this Exploit might not get to the King before him, and got privately to Court, without any one's knowledg. The next day he ſhew'd his Captive, who was a vaſt black hairy Man, with a frightful and ghaſtly countenance, dreſs'd very richly in the Habit of a *Perſian* Nobleman; with a Golden

Collar, and all other Princely Ornaments. He himſelf appear'd meanly, like a Peaſant, in a Hunter's Head-piece, made of the Skins of ſeveral Beaſts; with a Club in one hand, and Toyls in the other; and brought him out in ſuch a manner as if he had been ſome cruel Monſter, juſt ſubdued. So unuſual a ſight drew a great many Spectators; one being accidentally there that knew *Thyus*, inform'd the King of it. But he at firſt ſuſpecting ſo ſtrange a ſtory, commanded *Pharnabazus* to go and bring him a certain relation of the thing; from whom, when he had receiv'd full ſatisfaction, he commanded him to be brought into his Preſence, and was infinitely pleas'd with the humour; but eſpecially, that ſo great a Prince ſhould ſo unexpectedly come into his hands. After he had for this nobly rewarded *Datames*, he ſent him to the Army which was then rais'd againſt *Egypt*, under *Pharnabazus* and *Tithrauſtes*, and gave him a Command equal to theirs; and after *Pharnabazus* was recall'd, He was made Generaliſſimo. But whilſt he was haſtning the general Rendeſvouz of the Army, and preparing for his March to *Egypt*, he receiv'd an Expreſs from the

the King, that he ſhould go againſt *Aſpis*, the Governor of *Cataonia*; a Country which lies above *Cilicia*, and borders upon *Cappadocia*. For *Aſpis* depending upon his Woods and ſtrong Frontier-Towns, not only diſobey'd ſome of the Kings Commands, but rob'd his Carriages, and made incurſions on all about him. Tho *Datames* was at a great diſtance from *Cataonia*, and then in the management of greater Affairs, yet he yeilded to the King's pleaſure; and in order to the execution of it, ſet Sail only with a few, but very ſtout Men; ſuppoſing, (as indeed it afterwards happen'd) that he could have more advantage over him with a ſmall Company upon ſurprize, then with a great Army after open defiance. Being arriv'd at *Cilicia*, he continu'd his Marches 'till he had paſs'd over Mount *Taurus*, and was come to the end of his Journey. Enquiring for *Aſpis*, he underſtood that he was hunting near that place. The occaſion of *Datames*'s coming was preſently ſuſpected; and therefore *Aſpis* immediately put the *Piſidæ*, and others he had with him, in a poſture of defence. Upon notice of which, *Datames* muſter'd up his Men, and commanded them to follow

follow him; and being mounted on an excellent Horſe, rid briskly up to the Enemy. But *Aſpis* perceiving the vigour of the firſt onſet, the leaſt endeavours of reſiſtance were diſcourag'd; he immediately ſurrender'd himſelf; and was ſent in Chains to the King, by *Mithridates*.

Artaxerxes, whilſt theſe things were in agitation, recollecting, that he had call'd one of his beſt Commanders from a conſiderable Poſt, and ſent him upon a trivial employment; but thinking that perhaps he was not yet gone, diſpatch'd a Meſſenger to *Ace*, with orders that he ſhould by no means leave the Army. But the Command was ſuperſeded; for thoſe that guarded *Aſpis* were met upon the way. *Datames* having accompliſh'd his buſineſs with ſuch unexpected Expedition, was greater in the King's Favour then ever; and became ſo conſiderable, that he was the Envy of the whole Court. For they perceiv'd, that his ſingle intereſt was greater then theirs in conjunction; and therefore all jointly conſpir'd his ruin. *Pandates* the Treaſurer, who was his Confident, made him acquainted with all their deſigns, and told him by Letter what danger he

was

was in, if any miſcarriage ſhould happen during his Conduct in *Egypt*; That Kings took the Honour of great Actions to themſelves, but always imputed ill ſucceſs to their Miniſters; and therefore were eaſily inclin'd to diſgrace thoſe whom they thought the occaſion of it; That His condition was worſe then any others, becauſe it was the temper of the King, to hate thoſe moſt who had before been his chief Favourites. Having receiv'd this news upon his coming back to the Army at *Ace*, and knowing the advice was not to be contemn'd, he reſolv'd to leave the King's Service, but did nothing that was inconſiſtent with his Truſt; for he left the Army under *Mandrocles* a *Magneſian*, went with a Detachment of his own Men into *Cappadocia*, and ſiez'd *Paphlagonia*, which lay next to it, without diſcovering his diſaffection to the King. After which he held a ſecret correſpondence with *Ariobarzanes*, got ſome men together, and plac'd them in the fortified Towns for the defence of the Garriſons. But it being Winter, the ſeaſon of the year hinder'd ſome of his deſigns.

Hearing the *Piſidæ* were preparing ſome Forces againſt him, he ſent his Son *Ariſideus*

Ariſideus thither with an Army. The young General was kill'd in the Engagement. But his Father, concealing the loſs he had receiv'd, went with ſome more men into the Field, being willing to get to the Enemy before his Soldiers had the report of the Defeat; for he thought the news of his Son's Death would very much diſcourage them. Being arriv'd at the place he deſign'd, he ſo Encamp'd that he could neither be oppreſs'd with the numerous Forces of the Enemy, nor yet hinder'd from making any advantageous Aſſault. His Father-in-Law *Mithrobarzanes*, Captain of the Horſe, was then with him; but thinking their condition very deſperate, went over to the Enemy. Of which *Datames* having notice, he preſently conſider'd, that the noiſe of his being deſerted by ſo conſiderable a man might make the reſt revolt; and therefore gave out, that *Mithrobarzanes* was by his orders gone away like a Renegade, that he might be admitted by the Enemy, and ſo deſtroy them with leſs difficulty. That therefore they ought not to deliver him into their hands, but immediately to follow him; which if they did with reſolution, the *Piſidæ* could make no re-

reſiſtance, for they would be ſlain both in their Camp and in the Field. The Deſign being approv'd of, he led out his Army, and purſued *Mithrobarzanes*; upon whoſe approach to the Enemy, *Datames* commanded his Standard to be ſet up. The *Piſidæ* being in great confuſion at the ſuddenneſs of the buſineſs, ſuſpected the Renegades, and imagin'd they came with a treacherous deſign of doing the greater miſchief. Therefore they firſt fell upon them; which ſurpriſing Accident put them in ſuch diſorder, that they were forc'd to fight with thoſe to whom they had fled, and aſſiſt thoſe whom they had deſerted; but being ſpar'd by neither, were all preſently cut off. *Datames* afterwards falling upon the *Piſidæ*, forc'd them to fly, kill'd many in the purſuit, and took poſſeſſion of their Camp. By this Stratagem he at once puniſh'd the Deſerters, and gain'd a Victory over his Enemies; and made that which was intended for his Ruin, the means of his Succeſs. And perhaps it was a Deſign ſo cunningly laid, and in ſo little time effected, that Hiſtory can ſhew nothing parallel to it.

Notwithſtanding theſe great Exploits, *Sciſmas* his eldeſt Son left him, and gave the

the King an account of his defection. *Artaxerxes* being troubled at the news, (for he knew he was to deal with a man of undaunted Courage, one who never deſign'd any thing but what he dar'd venture to effect, and never attempted any thing but what he had ſufficiently conſider'd) ſent *Autophradates* into *Cappadocia*. *Datames* endeavour'd to poſſeſs himſelf of the Foreſt, which is the paſſage to *Cilicia*; but not being able ſo ſuddenly to get his men together, he was oblig'd to take other meaſures; yet he choſe ſo commodious a place for his Camp, that the Enemy could neither encloſe him, nor paſs by him without being attacqu'd in ſeveral places; and was poſted ſo advantageouſly, that in any Encounter their Multitudes could do very little damage to his ſmall Company.

Altho *Autophradates* was ſenſible of all this, yet he was reſolv'd rather to engage him, then either to continue long in that place, or go back with a great Army; for he had in the Field twenty thouſand Horſe, an hundred thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Slingers; which were the *Cardaces*, a people of the Leſſer *Aſia*; beſides theſe, eight thouſand out of *Cappadocia*, ten out of *Armenia*, five from *Paphla-*

Paphlagonia, ten from *Phrygia*, five from *Lydia*, about three thouſand of the *Aſpendii* and *Piſidæ*, two from *Cilicia*, as many of the *Caſpians*, and three thouſand Mercenaries, which he had out of *Greece*; beſides a conſiderable number of Light-Horſe. All *Datames*'s hopes of doing any thing againſt ſuch mighty Forces, were in himſelf, and the convenience of the place wherein he was Encamp'd; for he had not the twentieth part of the men which were brought by *Autophradates*. Nevertheleſs with theſe he ventur'd to give him Battel; and in it, with but the loſs of about a thouſand men, cut off ſeveral thouſands of His. In memory of which he erected a Trophy, the next day, in the place where they fought. After he had remov'd his Camp from thence, tho his Army was ever the leaſt, yet he was ſtill greateſt when the Fight was done; for he underſtood the Country, and always contriv'd, that the Enemy ſhould be confin'd to ſuch narrow places, where he had no room to manage any conſiderable number of men. *Autophradates* finding the War prov'd more unſucceſsful to his Maſter then to *Datames*, ſolicited him to a Peace, and promis'd to reſtore him to the King's Favour.

vour. He accepted the Conditions, tho he did not think them real; and ſaid he intended to ſend his Ambaſſadors to *Artaxerxes*, in order to an Accommodation. And the War being thus ended, *Autophradates* went into *Phrygia*.

But the King hated *Datames* ſo implacably, that when he ſaw his deſtruction could not be accompliſh'd by any open Force, he endeavour'd by ſome ſecret Methods to take him off. But he defeated ſeveral of their deſigns; of which the moſt remarkable was this: He had intelligence, that ſome about him, and ſuch as were reputed his Friends, had contriv'd his Death; this he thought, becauſe it came from his Enemies, was neither to be over-much credited, nor perfectly ſlighted; but being willing to ſee the reality of the thing, he went to the very place where he was told they intended the Aſſaſination; To one that exactly reſembl'd him for ſhape and ſtature, he likewiſe gave his Habit, and commanded him during the Journey to repreſent him, by riding in his place. He himſelf was Accouter'd like a Common Soldier, and Rid amongſt His Guards. And charg'd all the Company to obſerve his motions, and ſecond them. When the

the Conſpirators ſaw the Company; they were deceiv'd by the place and dreſs, and aſſaulted the Counterfit; which when *Datames* perceiv'd, he preſently threw out his Darts, and the reſt (according to the Sign) doing ſo too, they were all kill'd upon the ſpot.

Yet at laſt this ſagacious Man was over-reach'd by a project of *Mithridates*, the Son of *Ariobarzanes*; who aſſur'd the King of his Death, upon condition he might act as he pleas'd with impunity. The liberty being granted, and the Promiſe (according to the Cuſtom of the *Perſians*) confirm'd by the Hand, he pretended an open Defiance of the King, rais'd Forces, beſieg'd his Towns, and vext his Provinces; by Agents deſir'd a correſpondence with *Datames*, and after a Diſtribution amongſt his Soldiers, complemented him with a Preſent of rich Spoils. By theſe Actions he perſwaded *Datames*, that he had engag'd himſelf in an everlaſting Quarrel with the King; but however, to prevent the leaſt ſuſpition of his deſigns, he neither deſir'd a Conference with him or an Enterview; but manag'd his falſe Friendſhip ſo well at diſtance, that nothing ſhould ſeem to be the foundation

of it, but their common Hatred of the King.

When he thought he had ſufficiently ſetled him in this opinion, he ſent him word, that it was neceſſary they ſhould prepare greater Forces, and engage themſelves in an Actual War with the King himſelf; and if he approv'd the Propoſal, that he would meet him at any place he ſhould chuſe, to conſult farther about it. The time and place being appointed; *Mithridates*, going thither ſome days before, with one that was his Confident, hid ſeveral Swords, and nicely obſerv'd how they lay. When the day came which they had fix'd upon, they both ſent ſome Servants to view the place, and then met according to the agreement. After they had ſpent ſome time in the debate, and were parted, *Mithridates* (that he might not be at all ſuſpected) before he was got to his Company, return'd to the ſame place, and ſat down where he had buried one of the Daggers, as if he had deſign'd only to reſt himſelf. But having taken up the Weapon, and conceal'd it under his Clothes, he ſent for *Datames*, under pretence that he had forgotten ſome important matter; and told him, that as he paſs'd along he had

ſpy'd

'ſpy'd a very convenient place for their Camp. *Datames* turning, and looking with ſome earneſtneſs upon the place which he ſhew'd him, was immediately ſtabb'd in the Back, and dy'd before any one could come up to his aſſiſtance. Thus he that had over-reach'd many by generous Stratagems, but none by any baſe Treachery, was at laſt deceiv'd and ruin'd by the plauſible pretences of Friendſhip.

THE LIFE OF *EPAMINONDAS.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Lane*, Fellow of *Merton* Coll. *Oxon.*

EPAMINONDAS the Son of *Polymnius*, was a *Theban*. But before we begin our account of him, it ſeems neceſſary to deſire the Readers, that they would not make an Eſtimate of other People's Manners by their own; nor ſuppoſe, that things of ſmall value with them, bear the ſame rate amongſt all the reſt of Mankind. Muſick (we know) according to our ſentiments is below the Dignity of a Prince; to Dance, the mean Employ of Slaves; yet

yet amongſt the *Grecians* theſe are Gentile Accompliſhments, of great repute. *Epaminondas*'s Character deſerves to have nothing omitted, that may conduce to the knowledg of ſo great a Man; wherefore we ſhall in the firſt place diſcourſe of his *Parentage*, in the next of his *Education*, then of his *Manners* and *Diſpoſition*, (and if there be any thing elſe on thoſe heads worth relating); and in the laſt place, concerning his *Actions*; Theſe are the great concern of life, and are by moſt preferr'd before all the ſolitary Habits of a lazy Virtue. His Father's name you have heard before. His Family was Gentile, yet ſuch as might receive, not give a luſtre. Poverty ſeem'd entail'd upon him from his Anceſtors; yet never was *Theban* more Gentilely Educated. He learnt to play on the Lute, and to Sing, from *Dionyſius*; whoſe Fame in Muſick was not leſs then the celebrated Names of *Damon* or *Lamprus*. *Olympiodorus* taught him the Flute, and *Calliphron* to Dance. His Tutor in Philoſophy was *Lyſis* the *Tarentinian*, of the *Pythagorean* Sect; He was ſo great an Admirer of this old Man, that his reſerv'd ſevere Converſation pleas'd him better then the gay Company of his Equals; Neither would he

leave him, till he had ſo far outgone his Fellow-Pupils, that it was apparent his Excellence in other Arts would be proportionate to his happy ſucceſs in theſe. If you give a judgment according to our Cuſtoms, theſe things may ſeem mean and contemptible, and not proper Theams of Praiſe; yet were they anciently in *Greece* of as great concern as good Breeding could make them. After he was fifteen years old, he betook himſelf to the Academy, for the Exerciſes of the Body; where he did not ſo much aim at greatneſs of ſtrength, as nimbleneſs in motion; The firſt he knew might gain applauſe in a Ring, the other was of the greateſt uſe in War. Therefore he deſign'd to himſelf ſuch a perfection in Running and Wraſtling, as he might be able while he was ſtanding on his Feet to grapple and cloſe with his Enemy; *but neglected the other tricks of theſe Exerciſes, which were perform'd by the Parties tugging and tumbling one another on the Ground.* Theſe were his Recreations; Arms were his ſerious bus'neſs. This Strength of Body thus gain'd, was attended with a more numerous train of the Goods of the Mind. He was modeſt, prudent, grave in his Be-

Behaviour, of great Addreſs, and none more wiſe in managing each juncto of time to the greateſt advantage. He was well Skill'd in the Art of War, Valiant in the Duties of it, and of an undaunted Courage; So ſevere a Lover of Truth, that he would not Lye in Jeſt; Chaſt, compaſſionate, and patient in an eminent degree; eaſily forgiving, not only the Injuries of the Multitude, but of his Friends; Above all things, careful to conceal Secrets committed to him; *which ſort of Silence is ſometimes of as great advantage as the cleareſt Eloquence.* He thought the readieſt way to Learn was to Hear; therefore when he came to any place in which Debates were held, either in Politicks or Philoſophy, he never departed until the Diſcourſe was at an end. Poverty was ſo eaſie a thing to him, that Glory was the only advantage he made of the Commonwealth. In his Neceſſities he was perfidiouſly deſerted by his Friends; yet was his Kindneſs ſo conſtant to others in their Wants, that one would gueſs his Principle was, *That Friends have all things in Common.* Thus, when any of his Country-men were taken Captive, or any of his Acquaintance had a Daugh-

ter Marriagable, who could not be preferr'd for want of Fortune, he call'd a Conſult of Friends, allotted to every one (according to the proportion of his Eſtate) what he ſhould give, and when the deſign'd ſum was made up, he would not himſelf receive it; but introduc'd the perſon who was to receive the benefit, to collect it, that he might know how much he ow'd to every one's kindneſs. He gave a brave experiment of his Integrity in the repulſe of *Diomedon* the *Cyricenian*, who at the requeſt of *Artaxerxes* had undertaken to corrupt *Epaminondas*; in purſuit of this deſign, he comes to *Thebes* with vaſt Sums of Gold, and with a Preſent of five Talents brings over to his Party *Micythus*, a young Man whom *Epaminondas* dearly lov'd. *Micythus* addreſſes himſelf to *Epaminondas*, and acquaints him with the Gift he had receiv'd, and the reaſon of *Diomedon*'s coming; whereupon he ſent for *Diomedon*, and thus ſpeaks to him; *There is no want of Money; for if the King deſires ſuch things as are for the Intereſt of* Thebes, *I am ready to comply with him without the Bribe of a Reward: But if they are of another nature, he has not Silver and Gold enough. For the Love of my Country weighs more with me, then all the*

the Riches of the Univerſe. That you, who did not know me, and thought me like your ſelf, made this Attempt upon my Virtue, is no wonder; and I forgive you: But haſte you hence. Such Temptations may prevail on others, tho they can't on me. And you, Micythus, *reſtore him his Money; which if you do not preſently do, I will deliver you up into hands of Juſtice. Diomedon,* dejected at the reſolute Honeſty of the Man, now only deſires, *to return ſafely Home, and carry his Treaſures along with him. You ſhall* (replies *Epaminondas*), *not for your ſake, but my own; leſt if your Money ſhould be taken from you, any one ſhould ſuſpect, That I accepted that as a Spoil, which I had before refus'd as a Gift; and did not ſo much contemn the Bribe, as hate the Obligations of it.* Then he ask'd him, whither he would be convey'd; and *Diomedon* anſwering to *Athens*, he gave him a Guard to conduct him thither; and not content with this, he took care, by his Friend *Chabrias* the *Athenian* (whom we have mention'd before), that he ſhould ſecurely take Shipping there. I ſuppoſe this is a ſufficient teſtimony of his unſhaken Honeſty. We might produce a great many more of the like nature,

nature, but we muſt deny our ſelves that liberty; becauſe we deſign in this one Volume to comprehend the Lives of many Illuſtrious Perſons; upon each of whom other Writers before us have beſtow'd large Commentaries. He was the moſt eloquent of the *Thebans*; nor leſs acute in extemporary Repartee, than perſwaſive in continued Diſcourſes. One *Meneclides* was his profeſs'd Enemy, always oppoſing him in the Government of the Commonwealth; He was a Man ready and bold in Diſcourſe; that is, he was a *Theban*; to which Nation Nature ſeems to have allotted more of Strength then Wit. When this Man found, that *Epaminondas*'s Conduct in Military Affairs gain'd him Reputation, he began to adviſe the *Thebans*, *To lay aſide the thoughts of War, and enjoy themſelves in Peace.* This he did, not out of any Love to his Country, but to ſtifle the occaſions of *Epaminondas*'s Glory. To this *Epaminondas* replies, *War indeed is a diſmal Word*; *and 'tis the Sound alone that you make uſe of, to affright our Citizens from their intereſt. 'Tis Eaſe that you pretend, but Slavery is meant*; *for the Foundations of Peace are beſt lay'd by the Sword*; *and they that propoſe*

propoſe to themſelves an undiſturb'd and flouriſhing Tranquility, muſt be well Diſciplin'd in War. Therefore (O Thebans) *would you raiſe your State above the reſt of* Greece? *This Glory is to be gain'd in Camps, not Schools of Exerciſe.* At another time, when this ſame *Meneclides* objected to him, *that he was never marry'd, and had no Children*; and principally inſiſted on this, as a great height of inſolence, *that he durſt compare his own Actions with thoſe of Agamemnon's.* He anſwer'd, *Meneclides, do not object the want of a Wife; for I ſhould in that affair ſooner take any Man's advice than yours,* (for *Meneclides* lay under the ſuſpition of a very incontinent Fellow): *But you are miſtaken, if you think it my Ambition to reach* Agamemnon's *Glory; for he, with the Aſſiſtance of all* Greece, *ſcarcely at laſt, in ten years time, took one City; whereas I, on the other ſide, with the ſingle Forces of one City, and in one day, routed the* Lacedæmonians, *and deliver'd all* Greece *from Slavery.* When he went to the Convention of the States of *Arcadia*, to engage them in a League with the *Thebans* and *Argives*, he found there *Calliſtratus* the *Athenian* Ambaſſador, to oppoſe his deſigns, who was eſteem'd the beſt

beſt Orator of his time; he very bitterly inveigh'd againſt the *Thebans* and *Argives*, who were then Confederates; and amongſt the reſt of the Invectives, were theſe, *That the* Arcadians *ſhould conſider what kind of Men both Cities had produc'd, and from thence give a judgment of the reſt*; Oreſtes *and* Alcmeon *were* Argives, *and theſe wickedly murder'd their Mother*; O'dippus *was born at* Thebes, *who when he had Kill'd his Father, Marry'd his Mother, and had Children by her.* When *Epaminondas* had anſwer'd the reſt of his Speech, he came at laſt to his Railing, and ſaid, *He wonder'd at the Folly of the* Athenian *Orator, who did not conſider, That theſe Men were born Innocent, but when they had contracted Wickedneſs enough to be Expell'd their own Country, were yet thought good enough to be Receiv'd and Careſs'd at Athens.* But then did his Eloquence moſt eminently appear, when before the Battel of *Leuctra*, all the Ambaſſadors of the Confederates were met at *Sparta*: Here, in this great Aſſembly, he ſo clearly ſet forth the Tyranny of the *Lacedæmonians*, that his Diſcourſe did as much ſhake the Greatneſs of that State as the Battel at *Leuctra*; for then it was (which appear'd afterwards) that they were

were depriv'd of the Aſſiſtance of their Allies. That he was a very forgiving Man, and thought it unlawful to be angry at, or revenge, the Injuries of his Country, take the following inſtances: When Envy had ſo far work'd him out of the Affections of his Citizens, that they would not chuſe him General, but ſupply'd that Truſt with a very unskilful Commander, whoſe imprudence led their Forces into ſuch Streights that they were enclos'd by their Enemies, and now near Ruin; they began to reflect upon, and wiſh for, the good Conduct of *Epaminondas*, who was at this time a Common Soldier in the Army; To him they apply themſelves for Aſſiſtance; who taking no notice of their Ingratitude, rais'd the Enemy's Leaguer, and ſecur'd a ſafe Retreat to the Army. Such Actions as theſe he often perform'd; but that which bears a greater luſtre then any of the reſt, is his brave deportment when he led the Army into *Peloponneſus* againſt the *Lacedæmonians*; in which Expedition he had two Collegues, one of which was *Pelopidas*, a very valiant Man; who falling under the Envy of ſome Crimes that were faſten'd upon him by his adverſaries, all their Commands

were

were taken from them, and new Pretors appointed to ſucceed. *Epaminondas* refus'd to obey this Act of State, and perſwaded his Collegues to do the like; and ſo they proceeded in the management of that War. The reaſon upon which *Epominandas* acted was this, *He foreſaw (if he comply'd) the Ignorance and Folly of the deſign'd Commanders would ruin the Army.* The Law was, *That it ſhould be Death for any man to retain his Command longer than was limited by his Commiſſion.* This *Epaminondas* well underſtood, and the danger of it; but did not think fit, *That the Law which was made for the Preſervation of the Commonwealth ſhould be turn'd to its Ruine*; therefore he durſt continue his Command four months longer then the the People had Enacted. After their return home, his Collegues being impeach'd upon this Crime, he permitted them to caſt the whole guilt upon him, and to plead, *that it was wholly thro his means they had not obey'd the Orders of the State.* Which Plea brought them clearly off; but none could believe *Epaminondas* would make any Reply, becauſe the Crime being plain, they could not fancy what Defence could be made

in

in the Caſe. He makes his Appearance, pleads Guilty to his Inditement, and confeſſes all that his Colleagues had laid to his Charge; and tells them, that he was very ready to undergo the puniſhment the Law appointed; but now, being a Dying Man, deſir'd this one favour of them, that this Inſcription might be wrote on his Tomb, *Epaminondas was put to Death by the* Thebans, *becauſe at* Leuctra *he forc'd them to overcome the* Lacedæmonians; *whom, before he was General, not a Man of the whole Country of* Bœotia *had the Courage to look upon in the Field; and that in one Battel he not only rais'd* Thebes *from out of its Ruins, but reſtor'd all* Greece *its Liberty; and ſo far chang'd the Scene of Affairs, that the* Thebans *beſieg'd* Sparta, *and the* Lacedæmonian *Pride was brought ſo low as to be contented* not to be Slaves; *Neither, tho commanded, would he lay down his Arms 'till he had Fortify'd* Meſſena, *and by that means lay'd a perpetual Bridle upon the proud City of Sparta.* This Speech rais'd Admiration, Laughter, and Applauſe in the whole Aſſembly; ſo that not one of the Judges durſt give their Verdict. And thus he came off this Trial for his Life with great Reputation.

The

The laſt time he was General, was at *Mantinea*; where, preſſing too boldly amongſt the Enemies, they ſoon apprehended the advantage, and (knowing his Death would be the ſafety of their Country) turn'd their whole Force upon him, encompaſs'd him, and would not leave the purſuit, 'till after a great Slaughter on both ſides, and a brave reſiſtance made by *Epaminondas*, they ſaw him (wounded with a Dart) fall to the ground. This ſad accident did at firſt ſomewhat diſcourage the *Bœotians*; but recollecting themſelves, Revenge ſucceeded Grief, and they gave not over till they had utterly routed the Enemy. *Epaminondas* finding himſelf mortally wounded, and knowing, that ſhould the Shaft be pull'd out of his Head he muſt immediately dye, kept it in ſo long 'till 'twas told him his Army had got the Victory; *Then* (ſays he) *I have liv'd long enough, for I ſhall dye unconquer'd.* So the Iron being drawn out, he immediately expir'd. He was never Marry'd; for which *Pelopidas* (who had a very Debauch'd Son) thus reproving him, *that he took but little Care of the Commonwealth, who would not leave Children behind him to ſupport it after his Death.*

Death. He replies, *Conſider whether you do not perform worſe Offices to it, in leaving ſo leud an Heir, who may help to deſtroy, but cannot maintain a Commonwealth: But as for me, I cannot want Iſſue; the* Leuctrian *Victory is my Offspring, which will not only ſurvive me, but will immortalize my Name.* At the time that the Exiles, under the Conduct of *Pelopidas*, ſurpriz'd *Thebes*, and drove the *Lacedæmonian* Garriſon out of the Caſtle, *Epaminondas* (ſo long as his own Citizens were engag'd in the Fight) kept himſelf at home, and forbore all Action. The reaſon of which proceeding was, that he could not in Honour join with theſe Betrayers of their Country, nor would he appear in Arms againſt them, becauſe he would not ſtain himſelf with the Blood of his Country-men; for he well knew, *That Victory in a Civil War was at beſt but an unfortunate Prize.* But this ſame Man, as ſoon as the Battel was drawn off as far as the *Cadmea*, and the *Lacedæmonians* only concern'd, thruſt himſelf into the formoſt Rank. I think I ſhall have ſaid enough of the Virtues and Actions of this great Man, if I add but this one thing, which none can deny, That before *Epaminondas's* Birth,

and after his Death, *Thebes* was conſtantly ſubject to a Foreign Power; but on the contrary, while he Preſided in that Commonwealth, it became the Leading State of *Greece*. Whence we may draw this concluſion, *That the Bravery of one Great Man does more advance a State than the whole Maſs of People.*

THE

THE LIFE OF *PELOPIDAS.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Creech.*

PELOPIDAS, the *Theban*, is more famous in Hiſtory then common Talk; of whoſe Vertues I cannot tell in what manner I ſhall treat; for ſhould I give a full deſcription of his Actions, 'tis juſtly to be fear'd, that I ſhould rather ſeem to write a Hiſtory than his Life; and if I ſhould only touch upon the heads, that then I ſhould cloud his Reputation; and thoſe who are unacquainted with the *Greek* Hiſtories, would not perceive

how great a Man he was: Therefore, to the beſt of my power to prevent both, I ſhall provide againſt the ſatiety as well as ignorance of my Readers. *Phœbidas* the *Spartan*, as he led his Army thro *Thebes* towards *Olynthus*, at the inſtigation of ſome few *Thebans* (who, that they might the more eaſily check the contrary Faction, ſided with the *Spartan* intereſt) ſurpriz'd the Citadel *Cadmea*; and this he did, not by any order from the State, but upon his own head; for which the *Lacedæmonians* took away his Commiſſion, and ſet a Fine upon him; but refus'd to ſurrender the Caſtle to the *Thebans*; concluding it more politick, now diſtaſte was once given, to continue a Guard upon them, then permit them to be free. For after the *Peloponneſian* War, and the *Athenians* overcome, they ſaw the *Thebans* only ſtand in competition, and dare to oppoſe their Empire. Upon this account they put their Friends in power; and as for the Heads of the contrary Faction, ſome they Butcher'd, and ſome they Baniſh'd; amongſt which, this *Pelopidas* (whom I mention'd in the beginning) was an Exile. Almoſt all theſe fled to *Athens*, not to live lazily, and at eaſe; but as being

ing the neareſt and moſt convenient ſtation, whence on the firſt opportunity they might endeavour the freedom of their Country: And therefore as ſoon as time appear'd, upon agreement with their friends at *Thebes*, they made choice of that day in which the Governors us'd to meet at a publick Banquet, to deſtroy their Enemies, and free the City: Great Actions are often perform'd with no great force; but certainly never before from ſo mean a beginning as this, was ſo great an Empire overthrown: For not above twelve of the baniſh'd Youth undertook the Enterpriſe, and not above an hundred would joyn with them in ſo dangerous an Attempt; and yet by this deſpicable number was the Power of the *Spartans* Ruin'd: for theſe did not ſo much Attempt the contrary Faction in *Thebes*, as the *Lacedæmonians*, the then Lords of *Greece*; and whoſe Empire, firſt wounded by this Action, was a little while after in the Battel of *Leuctra*, brought to the laſt gaſp: Now theſe twelve, *Pelopidas* their Leader, leaving *Athens* in the day-time, that about the duſk of the Evening they might reach *Thebes*, to prevent ſuſpition they put themſelves in a Country dreſs, and ap-

pear'd like Hunters, with Hounds, Hunting-poles and Nets; and entring the City at the very nick of time, they refreſht themſelves at *Charon's* Houſe, by whoſe appointment the day for the Attempt was ſet. And here I crave leave to break my ſtory with a ſhort Obſervation, To what great Calamities doth ſupine ſecurity expoſe! For the *Theban* Magiſtrates were quickly inform'd, that the Exiles were in Town; but being eager on their Entertainment, they ſlighted the diſcovery ſo much, that they would not trouble themſelves to examine a matter of ſo great concernment: Beſides, which is a clearer demonſtration of their madneſs, a Letter was brought from *Archias* the chief Prieſt of *Athens*, to *Archias* the cheif Magiſtrate of *Thebes*, which made a full diſcovery of the Plot: This being delivered him while he was at Table, without opening it, he clapt it under his Cuſhion, with theſe words, *I adjourn Buſineſs till to morrow.* In the dead of the night, when they were well drunk, the Exiles, under the Conduct of *Pelopidas*, diſpatcht them all: And that work once over, and the common People call'd in to Liberty and Arms, many from

from the Country as well as Town came in to their Aſſiſtance. They beat the *Spartan* Garriſon out of the Caſtle, freed their Country, and as for thoſe who entic'd *Phœbidas* to Surprize the *Cadmea*, ſome they Executed, and ſome they Baniſh'd. All this unquiet time, *Epaminondas* (as I hinted in his Life) whilſt the Citizens only quarrel'd amongſt themſelves, never ſtir'd; and therefore the freeing of *Thebes* is the peculiar Glory of *Pelopidas*. In almoſt all other Exploits *Epaminondas* had a ſhare; for in the Battel at *Leuctra*, *Epaminondas* was General, and *Pelopidas* Captain of a Select Band, which firſt broke the Main Body of the *Spartans*; and in all Enterpriſes he made one. Thus when *Sparta* was ſtorm'd, he Commanded one Wing; and that the old *Meſſenians* might quickly recover their own Country, He himſelf went an Ambaſſador to the *Perſian*. In ſhort, he was the other Man at *Thebes*; tho but ſecond, yet ſo as to be next *Epaminondas*. He had alſo croſs fortune to Encounter, for firſt (as I have already mention'd) he liv'd in Baniſhment; and when he deſign'd to bring *Theſſaly* under the *Theban* Power, and thought the Cha-

racter of an Ambaſſador, which all Nations hold Sacred, was a ſufficient Protection; He and *Iſmenias* were ſeiz'd by *Alexander* the *Pherean* Tyrant, and clapt in Chains. *Epaminondas* Warr'd on *Alexander*, and releiv'd him; but never after that could he be Friends with him that had offer'd the affront; and therefore he perſwaded the *Thebans*, to undertake the Protection of *Theſſaly*, and expel the Tyrants: He being cheif Commander in that Expedition, and having led his Forces into *Theſſaly*, as ſoon as ever he came in ſight of the Enemy, haſted to a Battel; In which Fight when he ſaw *Alexander*, fir'd with rage, he ſpur'd his Horſe towards him, and advancing a great way before His Soldiers, was ſhot throw: This happen'd in his ſecond Victory, for the Tyrants Forces were already routed: For this Action, all the Cities of *Theſſaly* Honoured dead *Pelopidas* with Golden Crowns, and Brazen Statues; and gave his Children a conſiderable peice of Land.

THE

THE LIFE OF *AGESILAUS.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Scott*, M. A. and Fellow of *Queen's* Coll. *Oxon.*

AGESILAUS of *Lacedæmon* is a perſon highly applauded by the greater part of Hiſtorians, particularly by *Xenophon*, Scholar of *Socrates*, who treats him with a ſingular reſpect. At firſt he ſtood in Competition for the Crown with *Leotychides*, his Brother *Agis*'s Son. It was a receiv'd Cuſtom amongſt the *Spartans*, to Dignifie two Perſons at a time

time with the Name of King, tho in effect neither of them had much of the * Power. These two were always to be of the two Eminent Families of *Proclus* and *Eurysthenes*, formerly Kings of *Sparta*; who had both descended from the ever famous *Hercules*, and from him had derived their Titles; yet especial care was taken, that the two Lines should not mix and confound, but that each should descend in its proper Channel; and that in both these the Eldest Heir Male should always succeed; and in defect of him, the next Prince of the Blood; the Female Sex being excluded. *Agis* in his Life time had denyed *Leotychides* to be * Legitimate, but being better advis'd at his Death, declar'd him to be his Son; which gave encouragement to *Leotychides*, after the decease of *Agis*, to dispute the Empire with his Uncle *Agesilaus*, but by the Prevalency of *Lysander*, a Turbulent and Potent Man in those times, *Leotychides* was rejected, and *Agesilaus* preferred.

No sooner was he invested in the Kingdom, but being of an active Spirit, he perswades the *Lacedæmonians* to make an Invasion upon *Asia*, and to Commence War against that King in his own

* The greatest part of the executive Power was devolv'd upon the *Ephori*, only the Power of Peace and War, and imposing of Ceremonies in Religion, remaining in the King, *Arist. Pol. lib.* 3. *c.* 10.

* For *Leotychides* was suppos'd to be Bastard to *Alcibiades*, who when *Agis* was absent in the Wars, was observ'd to entertain too secret a Correspondence with the Queen *Timea*, which being made known to *Agis*, he look'd upon her Issue as Spurious. *Plutarch vit. Alcib. Athenæus.*

own Territories; holding it a Maxim of good Policy, rather to remove a War into an Enemy's Country than to entertain it at home: beſides, the noiſe of * *Artaxerxes*'s Arms had already reach'd *Greece*; to invade which, he had Equip'd a well furniſht Fleet, and ſet a Potent Land Army on foot; and therefore to prevent him, *Ageſilaus*, as ſoon as he had got his Forces in a readineſs, enters *Aſia* with ſuch an incredible Expedition, that his unexpected preſence anticipated the Fame of his coming; and that King's Lieutenants found him ſet down in the midſt of their Country before they had any notice of his deſign, to their great aſtoniſhment and confuſion, they not being in a poſture to make any defence. The news of ſo unexpected a Gueſt could not long be conceal'd from the ears of *Tiſſaphernes*, *Artaxerxes*'s Viceroy there, who upon the firſt Advertiſement of it, politickly deſires a Truce with the *Spartans*, under pretence of his friendly Interpoſition, to accommodate matters amicably and fairly betwixt both parties; but really for nothing elſe, but to gain time to levy Forces. However it was, a Truce was agreed upon for three months; the two

* At that time King of *Perſia*.

two Generals binding themſelves with a ſolemn Oath to obſerve it. And accordingly none was ever more punctually obſerv'd by *Ageſilaus*, and leſs by *Tiſſaphernes*, who improv'd the time in making preparation for War. This the generous *Spartan* knew very well; but yet could not be induc'd to violate his Oath and make a breach, ſaying, "That he "ſhould be the greateſt Gainer at length, "for *Tiſſaphernes* by his Perjury muſt "neceſſarily expoſe himſelf and his "undertakings to the juſt indignation "of the Gods and Men: But that he "by his Religious obſervance ſhould "gain both Reputation and ſtrength "to his Party; ſince the Gods are al-"ways more propitious to, and all wiſe "Men will the rather favour and wiſh "well to thoſe, who put a value upon "what they ſay, and are true to the "Truſt which is repos'd in them.

The Truce expir'd, *Tiſſaphernes* draws down his Forces into *Caria*, partly to ſecure his own Poſſeſſions there, and becauſe that Country being of all the Richeſt, would in all probability be the object of the Enemies firſt Attempt. But he was miſtaken in his conjecture, for *Ageſilaus* ſuddenly wheels about into *Phrygia*,

* *Phrygia*, which he overran with ſuch celerity, that he had depopulated the whole Country before *Tiſſaphernes* had advanc'd one foot forward to its relief.

Having here gratified his Soldiers with the Spoils of the place, he brought them back to their Winter Quarters at *Epheſus*, where he ſet the *Artiſans* on work to prepare and furniſh him with all ſorts of Arms; and thoſe of his Soldiers who were induſtrious to fit and Accoutre themſelves therewith, he (for the encouragement of others) oblig'd with ſome ſpecial Reward or Mark of his Favour; as likewiſe every one who in their daily Military Exerciſes particularly Signaliz'd himſelf above the reſt; by which means he effected, that in a few days he had the beſt appointed, and the beſt Diſciplin'd Army in the World. When it was time to leave his Winter Quarters, he publickly Proclaim'd what way he really deſign'd to direct his courſe; having Learn'd by good Experience, that the Incredulous *Aſian* would never beleive the proteſts of his Enemy, but would certainly ſend his Forces to Guard thoſe Provinces which were moſt diſtant from that

* *Frontinus lib.* 1. *c.* 8. ſpeaking of this Expedition, inſtead of *Phrygia* reads *Lydia*, but the miſtake is not great, for *Phrygia*, which is a Province in *Aſia* Minor, has *Caria*, *Lydia*, *Myſia* and *Bithynia* bordering ſo nearly upon it, that as *Strabo* ſays, they are not eaſily diſtinguiſhed, but are often promiſcuouſly taken one for another.

that which he declar'd himſelf ready to invade. Accordingly it prov'd, for *Ageſilaus* manifeſting his deſign to make an inroad into **Sardis*, *Tiſſaphernes* (whoſe own fault it was thus to be deceived the ſecond time) again advances into *Caria* to defend it, but by the event diſcovering his error he returns with all ſpeed to the aſſiſtance of *Sardis*, but it was almoſt too late; for by that time he had reach'd the place, the Active *Ageſilaus* had poſted himſelf in all the moſt important places of the Country, and had loaded himſelf with the Spoils of it. The *Aſians* were much ſtronger in Horſe, and therefore the wary *Spartans* declin'd all opportunities of engageing in open Campaign, and made choice of places the difficulty of which render'd the Enemy's Horſe of little or no advantage to them; by which policy he always remained abſolute Conqueror in *Aſia*, tho much inferior in Power; ballancing the inequality of Number with the excellency of his Conduct.

* The Royal City of *Lydia*, *Hor. Ep.* 11. *lib.* 1. *Quid concinna Samos? quid Creſi Regia Sardis?*

But whilſt he was conſulting to extend his Victories into the very bowels of *Perſia*, and to make the *Sultan* himſelf ſenſible of the heavy ſtroke of his Arms, he receives an Expreſs from the *Ephori*

Ephori of *Sparta*, commanding his ſpeedy return thither; the *Athenians* and *Bœotians* having denounced open War againſt that State. And here we have a fair opportunity of diſcovering the excellent Piety as well as Fortitude of *Ageſilaus*, who when he was at the Head of a Victorious Army, and might in deſpite of the World have put himſelf in poſſeſſion of the whole Empire of *Perſia*, did yet notwithſtanding ſo advantageous a proſpect, ſubmit to the Commands of the abſent Magiſtrates with ſo much readineſs and condeſcention, as if he had wore the character of a private Commoner in *Sparta* rather than of ſo great a Prince. A rare example, worthy of the beſt of Emperors! *Ageſilaus*, the Incomparable *Ageſilaus!* to the ſcorn and Contempt of the Ambitious World, chooſes rather to be Maſter of a good Reputation then of the moſt flouriſhing Empire; rather to Command the Affections of his Country then to be Lord of *Aſia*. Accordingly he is reſolv'd, and in purſuance of this ſo generous a reſolution, uſes ſuch Expedition, that he paſſes the *Helleſpont* with his whole Army in thirty days, which *Xerxes* could not accompliſh under a whole year. But when he

he came near to *Peloponnese* he found his way block'd up at * *Coronea* by the *Athenians*, *Bœotians*, * and their Confederates, who had posted themselves there to impede him in his passage: But in vain did they contend against him who had Fortune at his Command; for at the first encounter he gave them a total rout. The Victory was great, but yet the praise of it was further enhansed by his Religious Clemency, for when some of the Enemy, escap'd from the Battle, had taken Sanctuary in * *Minerva's* Temple, and he was ask'd, what he would be pleas'd to determine concerning them, he strictly forbid any violence to be offer'd to them; tho he might justly have Sacrific'd them as proper Victims to his deep Resentments, and to that Noble Blood which he Himself had expended in the Quarrel, having receiv'd some considerable wounds in the Fight. But his Religious respect towards the Sacred Temples did not only evidence it self in *Greece*, but in *Asia* too, where he express'd the like concern to preserve the Sacred Altar and the Images of the Gods from violence and Prophanation; and he was often observ'd to say; "That in his opinion he was equally "Sacri-

* A City in *Bœotia*.
* The *Thebans*, *Athenians*, *Argives*, *Corinthians*, *Eubaeans*, and *Locrians*, as *Xenophon* gives the account.

* Which was at *Itonia*, a City in *Thessaly*, so called ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰτώνου ἥρωος ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ἰτωνία Ἀθηνᾶ, says *Stephanus* from *Iton*.

" Sacrilegious who offer'd violence to the " Altar or the Votary at the Altar, and " that in effect he was the ſame Crimi- " nal who was an Enemy to the Sacred " place, or the Religion of the place.

After this, *Corinth* was the chief Seat of Action, from whence this took the Denomination of the *Corinthian* War. Here albeit in one Engagement he had left 10000 of his Enemies breathleſs upon the ground, and had ſo far weak- ned the Enemies Forces that in all Mens opinion they were perfectly broken, and incapacitated ever to Rally again; yet the Generous *Ageſilaus*, no leſs a Maſter of himſelf then the Enemy, was ſo far from entertaining himſelf with any Inſolent Conceits of his own Atcheiv- ments, that with a noble Compaſion he deplored the unhappy State of *Greece*, which through its own diviſions ſhould loſe the Lives of ſo many brave Men; whoſe Valour, if it had been plac'd on a right level, and directed accordingly, would inevitably have prov'd the Ruin of *Perſia*. After this, having pent up the Enemy within the Walls of *Corinth*, he was adviſ'd to lay cloſe Siege to that place; but Generouſly reply'd, " That it " was beneath the Prudence of his Con-

" duct ſo to do, for altho he knew very " well how to reduce a Criminal to a ſenſe " of his Duty, yet he did not think the " Cities of *Greece* proper objects of his " Valour, for whilſt *Greece* fought againſt " *Greece*, and deſtroy'd its own Members, " whoſe concern againſt the Common " Enemy the *Barbarian* was one and the " ſame, every Member, which by this " means was Rent and Torn off, was " loſt to the whole Body, whoſe Strength " was thereby impair'd, and it Incapa- " citated to Reſiſt the Attempts of the " Enemy, who would improve the Advan- " tage of their Diviſions to their Con- " fuſion.

In the mean time happen'd that unfortunate Battel at *Leuctra*, fatal to the *Lacedæmonians*, whither *Ageſilaus*, as if he had been Conſcious of the Event, could not by any Art be perſwaded to go; but afterwards, when *Epaminondas* had Inveſted the City *Sparta* *, it being at that time naked, and not defended with any Wall; *Ageſilaus* behav'd himſelf with ſo much Gallantry and Reſolution, that in all Mens opinion, if *Sparta* had wanted her *Ageſilaus*, ſhe had not long been *Sparta*. One remarkable inſtance there was, wherein his expedite and

* *Thucydides* in his Proem ſays, that the Cities of *Greece* had no Walls, but afterwards the *Spartan* Tyrants, diſtruſting the ſtrength of their Arms, encompaſs'd *Sparta* with a ſtrong Wall. *Juſtin lib.* 14.

and ſeaſonable Counſel diſcover'd it ſelf to the advantage of all. For when ſome raſh young Men, terrified with the report of the *Thebans* approach, had taken up a Reſolution to paſs over to them, and in order thereto had poſſeſs'd themſelves of a Poſt without the City, *Ageſilaus* foreſeeing the ill conſequence and example of it, if any of his Men ſhould be known to go over to the Enemy, "He cunningly joyns himſelf "with them, commends their choice "of that place where they were Poſt-"ed, and tells them, that he himſelf had "deſign'd the ſame before, and there-"fore that he would be their Leader, "and the Companion of their Fortunes. They, caught with this Stratagem, preſently return'd to their Allegiance, and having ſome of *Ageſilaus* his Followers joyn'd with them, lay aſide all thoughts of Surrendring the place; for their numbers being augmented with Men of good Experience and Conduct, they durſt not embrace any Treacherous deſign, and deſiſted the more willingly becauſe they thought that their Treaſon was not yet diſcover'd.

After the Battel of *Leuctra*, *Sparta* could never recover it ſelf, or regain

its priſtine Majeſty and Power, yet *Ageſilaus* bravely bore up under all Fortunes, and never wanted a helping hand to Sublevate the ſinking State. Particularly, when the *Lacedæmonians* were one time in great want for Money, he by Protecting thoſe who had been defective in their Duty, and had incurr'd the cenſure of the Laws, obtein'd great ſums of Money from them, all which he frankly beſtow'd upon the Public. And this was more ſignally remarkable in him, that of all the Rich Preſents which were given him by Kings, Noble Perſons or Cities which he had oblig'd, he never converted any to his own private uſe; neither did he ever deviate from the laudable Frugality and Thrift of the *Spartans*, his Diet was homely, his Apparel plain, his Lodging not adorn'd with the novel Bravery of the Times, but the ſame with that of *Euryſthenes* the Founder of his Family; into which, if you ſhould enter, you would find no proviſion for Luſt, none for Luxury; but Patience was the Ornament of it, Abſtinence its beſt Furniture, with theſe it abounded, but in other things it was not diſtinguiſhed from the Houſe of a poor Man or private Perſon.

But

But Nature was not more indulgent to this Great Perſon in beſtowing upon him ſo many Excellent Qualities of Mind, then She was niggardly in diſpenſing the Graces of his Body; for he was low of Stature, and lame of one Foot; which latter defect made him appear ſomething deform'd; and Strangers that beheld his face and the outward frame of his Body, ſlighted and contemned him; but thoſe that were acquainted with the inward Accompliſhments of his Mind, could never admire him enough. According to his former cuſtom, when he was eighty years old, and was come into *Egypt* as Auxiliary to * *Thacus*, he lay down to ſleep upon the ſhore amongſt his Followers, without any Roof above him but that of Heaven, or Bed under him but the Earth, which he cover'd with Straw, a Beaſts Skin being his Coverlet. In the ſame manner lay all his Companions round him, in mean, and very contemptible Habit, and which was ſo far from ſignifying the Perſon of a King to be amongſt them, that it rather gave cauſe to ſuſpect him to be ſome deſpicable mean Perſon. When the noiſe of his coming was bruited abroad, and had reach'd the Ears of the *Perſian*, Meſſen-

* *Thacus* having been conſtituted by the King of *Perſia* cheif Commander of all his Forces in *Egypt*, had treacherouſly cauſed *Egypt* and the Forces under his Command to revolt from the *Perſian*, and made himſelf King, which gave occaſion to the World to reprehend *Ageſilaus* for this action, it being thought unworthy of ſo great a Man, and a *Grecian* too, for lucre ſake to give aſſiſtance to ſo baſe a Rebel. *Plutarch.*

gers with Preſents were inſtantly ſent to him; tho when they came and enquir'd, which was *Ageſilaus*? they could ſcarce be induc'd to beleive that he was one of thoſe that lay down in that neglected manner. But when after their Complements made, they had tender'd their Preſents to him, he only made choice of ſome Veal-fleſh, and other Victuals for preſent uſe, and had diſtributed amongſt his Servants the ſweet Oyntments, the Coronets, with the more curious fare, and reſerved nothing for himſelf, but ſent back all the reſt again, the *Barbarians* then look'd upon him with greater contempt then before, imputing it to his ignorance, that he made choice of thoſe leſs valuable things. Afterwards when he left *Egypt* he was Preſented by King * *Nectanabes* with 220 Talents, all which he liberally diſtributed amongſt his Followers the *Lacedæmonians*. Coming from thence into a Haven betwixt *Cyrene* and *Egypt*, commonly known by the name of * *Menelaus* his Haven, he unhappily fell ſick of a fatal Diſeaſe, of which he * dy'd. His Friends, in order to convey his dead Body, in defect of Honey, anointed it with Wax, and carryed it home to *Sparta*.

* *Diodorus* affirms this King *Nectanabes* to be *Tachus* himſelf, who thus rewarded him for confirming him in his Kingdom, but *Plutarch* will have him to be Couzen to *Tachus*, who being during theſe Commotions declared King, was grateful to *Ageſilaus* for the good ſervice he had done him.

* *Strabo* mentions this Port of *Menelaus*, ſo called from *Menelaus* the *Grecian*, who coming into *Æthiopia*, and from thence Sailing into *Africa*, came to Land with his Ships in the Coaſts about *Ardania*, which from thence forwards took his name.

* After he had liv'd 84 years and reigned 41. *Plutarch*.

THE

THE LIFE OF *EUMENES.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Ch. Alleſtree*, M. A. of *Ch. Ch.* Coll. *Oxon.*

EUMENES was a Native of *Cardia*; and ſo eminent for Perſonal Courage, that had his Fortune or Succeſs been in any degree equal to it, he had not, 'tis true, been really Greater then he was (becauſe we meaſure the Greatneſs of an Hero by his inward Virtue, and not by any outward circumſtances of Fortune) but ſtill he had been more Honourable and Illuſtrious, and Fame had render'd him more conſiderable in the Eye of of the World. It was his unhappineſs

to be born in an Age wherein the *Macedonians* flouriſh'd, and were at that heighth of Renown, as to eclipſe his Merit; neither was it any ſmall matter of Reproach and Detraction to him (who liv'd conſtantly amongſt them) to be ignominiouſly upbraided with the Appellation of a Forreigner, and a Man deſcended of a mean Stock; and yet he Himſelf was the Chief of the Family he ſprung from. So that, upon theſe reaſons, they envy'd him the Glory of Precedence; and yet were forc'd to be content and ſubmit to it: For he ſurpaſs'd them all, in the Qualifications of a Statesman, in Care, Induſtry, and Patience; in Subtilty of Contrivance, and Quickneſs of Invention. Theſe Endowments recommended him early to the Acquaintance of King *Philip*; which in a very ſhort time he improv'd into a moſt intimate Familiarity and Friendſhip; for as young as he was, there appear'd ſuch a Genius, and Generous Spirit, as promis'd much future Greatneſs. So that the King Conſtituted him his Secretary; which is an Employment of greater Reputation and Honour amongſt the *Grecians* than it is with the *Romans*; for we juſtly eſteem Perſons of that Character, as they really are,

to

to be only Mercenary Scribes, and employ'd for Gain. But, on the contrary, no Man was ever in *Greece* advanc'd to the Dignity of that Station, but ſuch as were born of honeſt Parents, were of approv'd Integrity, and had Abilities fit for the Service; and the reaſon is, becauſe their Office gives them Acceſs to Princes, makes them neceſſarily acquainted with great Intrigues, and the ſecret Meaſures and Reſolutions of all their Councils. He enjoy'd this Honour, and place in his Affection, during the laſt ſeven years of King *Philip*'s Reign, and (after his Death) was continued in the ſame Character under *Alexander* the Great for thirteen more; and at laſt was preferr'd to Command that Wing of the Horſe which was call'd the *SOCIAL WING*, from the Confederacy of the Allies that Conſtituted it. In ſhort, he was Privy-Councellor to both theſe Princes, and entruſted with the ſole management of their Buſineſs, and all matters of Importance.

When *Alexander* was dead at *Babylon*, his Provinces came to be diſtributed equally to the ſeveral Officers who enjoy'd his Favour; it was *Perdiccas*'s Fortune (ſince *Craterus* and *Antipater*, tho more in eſteem with *Alexander*, were

were abſent at this Delegation; and *Hæpheſtion*, whom *Alexander* lov'd as paſſionately as himſelf, was dead alſo) to have the Command or Superintendency of the Whole lodg'd in his hands; and this was conjectur'd by the Ring that *Alexander* (when he lay ſpeechleſs) took from his Finger and gave, as a peculiar inſtance of his kindneſs; intimating by this Pledg, that he nominated him Protector of the Empire, and entruſted the Government of his Dominions to his Conduct, whilſt his Children were in their Minority, and remain'd under his Guardianſhip. In this Diſtribution of Provinces, the Government of *Cappadocia* fell to *Eumenes*'s ſhare, or rather was Aſſign'd to him; and the Title only of Lieutenant conferr'd upon him, the Country at that time being actually in poſſeſſion of the Enemy. It was the policy of *Perdiccas* to make this Man his Friend, and gain him to his intereſt, which he endeavour'd to accompliſh by all the endearments imaginable, becauſe he knew him induſtrious in the Employment of War, and unalterably true to the Principle of his firſt Engagement; preſuming with much reaſon and confidence, that if he could move him to

to eſpouſe his cauſe, his ſervice would be more than ordinarily inſtrumental to bring about thoſe great Affairs which he had then in hand; for he intended (that which almoſt all Men in Empire propoſe to themſelves) an Univerſal Monarchy, and to graſp all Power in his hands. Neither was he ſingle and alone in this deſign upon the Soveraignty of the World; for the ſame luſt of Power equally ſpread it ſelf, and run throw all the Governors of *Alexander's* Provinces; and accordingly we find *Leonatus* affecting the Command of *Macedonia*, and Attempting to inveſt himſelf in the Government of that Province; and in order thereunto, plying *Eumenes* with the bait of Preferment, and propoſals of Honor to deſert *Perdiccas* and make a ſtrict League and Allyance with him; and when his arguments and promiſes were ineffectual to corrupt his Honeſty, or ſeduce him from the Friendſhip he bore *Perdiccas*, he treacherouſly ſought his Death, and had certainly accompliſh'd it, but that *Eumenes* privately made his eſcape by night, and ſo avoided the danger.

In the mean time, whilſt theſe ambitious Deſigns were forming, there ſeem'd

ſeem'd to be lay'd the Foundation of thoſe enſuing Wars, which (after *Alexanders* Death) rag'd even to the Exciſion of the ſeveral Parties in the Conteſt; and all of them (as one Man) join'd themſelves in a Confederacy, to ſuppreſs *Perdiccas*, and prevent his growing Greatneſs. Now, tho *Eumenes* was ſenſible of the danger of his Friend, and knew that he was unable to ſtem the Tyde, or with his ſingle Forces overpower that formidable and united Body of Men, that were rais'd againſt him, yet he would not deſert him in extremity, but was more mindful of his Honour, than the conſideration of his own ſafety; *Perdiccas* had put him in a place of Truſt, and Conſtituted him Governor of that part of *Aſia*, which lyes betwixt Mount *Taurus* and the *Helleſpont*, and fixt him commodiouſly at that Poſt, for the conveniency of ſtopping the *Europæans*, and keeping them from falling in upon the Rear, whilſt he in the mean time undertook an Expedition into *Egypt*, and deſign'd to encounter *Ptolemy*. And yet *Eumenes* was left in no good condition to Fight, for the Troops he had with him were not conſiderable either for Number or Courage, being for the

the moſt part raw, and unexperienc'd, ignorant of all Diſcipline, and rais'd haſtily from the Refuſe of the People; So that when *Craterus* and *Antipater* (Men of Renown and Terror in the Art of War) were ſaid to have paſs'd the *Helleſpont*, and advancing towards him with an Army of old *Macedonian* Soldiers (where by the way I muſt tell you, that theſe *Macedonian* Soldiers were thought as terrible in the Trade of War, as the *Romans* are now with us; for thoſe are ever counted the beſt Soldiers, that are levy'd from that Country which is the Seat of the Empire) *Enmenes* was confident, that if his Men ſhould know the Power and Strength of the Enemy, and againſt whom they were drawn out to Fight, they would be ſo far from going chearfully upon the Expedition, that they would drop down dead with the news; It was his care therefore to preſerve them in ignorance of his deſign, and to lead them through unknown and by-roads, where no certain or authentick Intelligence could poſſibly come to diſabuſe them; and to bear them in hand, that their Arms were to be employ'd againſt the *Barbarians*, to revenge the inſolence of a ſort of Peo-

ple,

ple, that had offer'd Affronts and acts of Hoſtility to their Country: Acting therefore by theſe meaſures of ſecreſy, he had Marſhall'd and diſpos'd his Army in the beſt Array in the World for the Engagement, and had quite ended the Battle, before ever the Soldiers knew their Adverſaries, or againſt whom they drew their Swords; and yet it is to be confeſs'd, that this overthrow is to be aſcribed to another reaſon, *viz.* to the advantageous choice he made of the ground, wherein his Horſe alone (which was the ſtrength of his Army) might bear the Onſet and Attaque of the Enemy, and He not obliged to expoſe his Infantry to the Shock, which was very inconſiderable.

In this ſmart Conflict, which laſted almoſt till night, *Craterus* the General, and *Neoptolemus*, who had the ſecond place of Command in the Field, were both ſlain: *Eumenes* engaged Perſonally in the Fight with *Neoptolemus*; and ſo violent was their hatred and animoſity to each other, that when their Grapling had diſlodg'd the Riders from their Horſes, and thrown them both to the Ground, they could not be diſengag'd from their hold, or parted by any thing but the death of one of the Combatants;

ſo

ſo that they ſeem to have bore an internal malice, and to have wag'd War principally in their Minds, and made their Bodies only ſeconds and Inſtruments in the quarrel. In this Conflict *Eumenes* receiv'd ſome ſmall Wounds, but they were not ſo dangerous as to induce him, for his Cure, to ſound a Retreat and leave the Field, but rather animated him to a freſh Purſuit, and a more vigorous Slaughter of the Enemy. So that when he had entirely routed the Horſe, ſlain *Craterus*, and taken a vaſt number of Priſoners (of the beſt Rank and Quality in the Army), the Foot ſeeing themſelves deſtitute of Succour, and lodg'd in ſuch narrow places, where 'twas impoſſible for them to make their eſcape with ſafety, ſurrender'd themſelves upon Diſcretion, and pray'd for Quarter. They no ſooner obtain'd this Grant of their Lives from *Eumenes*, but treacherouſly, upon the firſt opportunity broke their Faith, and (contrary to the Engagement of Captives) revolted with as much ſpeed as they were able to the Enemies Camp, and took part with *Antipater*. However *Eumenes* generouſly labour'd to recover *Craterus* from his Wounds, who was brought from the Field with ſome faint Breathings

ings and signs of Life, to his Tent; and when he saw that 'twas impossible for Art to cure him, out of deference to the Character he bore, and to the Friendship that was once betwixt them (for they were intimate Companions in *Alexander's* Life-time), he Celebrated his Obsequies with great Pomp, and sent his Ashes to his Wife and Children into *Macedon.*

Whilst these great Actions were Atchiev'd about the *Hellespont*, *Perdiccas* was treacherously kill'd, in an Engagement upon the River *Nile*, by *Seleucus* and *Antigonus*; so that the whole Administration of Affairs devolv'd upon *Antipater*. Here those who had deserted the Army, by a Council of War, were proclaim'd Traitors, and (tho absent) condemn'd to lose their Heads. Amongst the number of those who lay under this hard Sentence, *Eumenes* was Chief; who was really disturb'd at the Injustice of his Fate, but not to that degree as to make him despond, or desist from the prosecution of the War. And yet this Proscription, tho it might seem insignificant to affect a Man that was really in Arms, yet it had this effect, as to rebate the Greatness of that Courage which it was unable

unable utterly to overthrow. *Antigonus*, (who was provided with good ſtore both of Ammunition and Men) in purſuance to this Decree, follow'd *Eumenes* in the Rear, and gave ſome diſturbances to his Troops by ſmall Skirmiſhes on the Road; but was never able to force him to a pitcht Battel, only in ſuch narrow places, where a ſmall Party was ſufficient to engage the Front of his whole Army. And yet at laſt, when he was not to be undermin'd by Policy or Prudence, he was ſupplanted and almoſt ruin'd by the Treachery of a Multitude; but yet, even here, he extricated himſelf out of this difficulty; and, with the loſs of ſome of his Men, retir'd ſafe to a Citadel in *Phrygia*, call'd *Nora*; wherein he was ſo cloſe beſieg'd by *Antigonus*, and abridg'd of room to Air his Horſes in, that he fear'd their diſſuetude from Exerciſe would ſpeedily breed a Murrain, and cauſe a deſtruction amongſt them; ſo that to prevent this inconvenience, he made uſe of an expedient, whereby they might in the ſame Stall procure a better Appetite to their Fodder, and yet not want the benefit of Riding. He deviſ'd this way; and ty'd their Heads ſo high to the Rack with Halters, that they

could by no means touch the Earth with their fore-feet; and then his Grooms, with the Diſcipline of the Whip, laying on behind, oblig'd them to leap and kick backwards, to revenge the ſtroke. This motion, or agitation of Body, caus'd as much Sweating as if they had been actually Breath'd in a Courſe. So that (what was the moſt wonderful thing of all) by this Management the Horſes were brought from the Caſtle, after many Months Siege, as clean and in as good liking as if they had been air'd every day in the Fields. When he was thus block'd up, as oft as he thought convenient, he made Incurſions into the Enemy's Camp, and either burnt or demoliſh'd the Fortifications and Entrenchments of *Antigonus*; but ſtill he kept himſelf cloſe in his Garriſon during the Winter ſeaſon, becauſe he could not in the Field have the advantage of a Caſtle for his defence and ſhelter; but as ſoon as the Spring approacht, under the pretence of yeilding the place, and making Conditions of Peace, he impos'd upon *Antigonus*'s Officers (who had the management of the Treaty) and deliver'd himſelf and his Soldiers both from the ſtraitneſs and danger of the Siege.

To

To him *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander*, made her application, and addreſst from *Epirus* (where ſhe then dwelt) Letters to him into *Aſia*, to importune his Aid, and deſire his Aſſiſtance to recover *Macedon*, and inveſt her in the poſſeſſion of that Empire. *Eumenes*, in his Anſwer, adviſ'd her to deſiſt from her Pretenſions, or at leaſt to wait the time, when the Son of *Alexander* ſhould aſſume the Government; but if her Ambition ſhould hurry her, againſt this Advice, to invade *Macedon*, by all means ſhe ought to forget old Injuries, and not exerciſe any Acts of Cruelty againſt her Subjects. She follow'd none of his Counſel; for She did go into *Macedonia*, and Reign'd there with all the Tyranny and Barbarity imaginable. So that her Government becoming generally odious, ſhe was forc't to write again to *Eumenes*, and beſeech him not to ſuffer the inveterate Enemies of her Houſe to extirpate the very Race and Memory of *Philip*, but to bring ſpeedy Relief to the poor Remains and Poſterity of *Alexander*; which Requeſt of her's, if it were ſo reaſonable as to be clos'd with, ſhe further entreated him, to raiſe what Forces he could and bring to her

Assistance; and that he might the more readily comply with this motion, for his encouragement, she had already oblig'd all her Officers (who had not yet shoke off their Allegiance) to obey him, and submit themselves to be regulated by his Orders. *Eumenes* was so exalted with the Honour of his Employment, and the Greatness of the Character he was put into, that he chose rather to embrace Death (if the Gods would have it so) in a generous Return of Service to his great Benefactor, than to live ignominiously, and with security, under the brand and appellation of Ingratitude.

Accordingly he makes a new levy of Men, and prepares himself for a War against *Antigonus*; Now there were at that time several of the *Macedonian* Nobility with him, and amongst them *Peucestes*, who was of the Bed-Chamber to *Alexander*, and had the Government of *Persia* conferr'd upon him, and *Antigenes*, who commanded the *Macedonian Phalanx*; *Eumenes* thought it was impossible to decline envy, or prevent disgust, if He, who was a Stranger, should arrogate the Command, and prefer himself to be General in the Army, when there was so vast a concourse and appearance

pearance of *Macedonian* Noblemen with him; and yet being unwilling to be laid aſide from the Employment, he takes a middle way to avoid the danger; he erects a Pavilion in the Camp, and calls it by the name of *Alexander's* Tent; and there orders all the Royal Furniture of a Golden Throne, a Scepter, and a Diadem, to be plac't where the Officers met conſtantly to treat of public Affairs, and the negotiation of War; being of opinion, that by this means he ſhould not be oppreſs't with envy, if under the pretence and umbrage of *Alexander's* name, he carry'd on the War; which point he accompliſhed according to his deſign; for when the principal Officers met and concerted their meaſures ſeemingly at the Royal Pavilion, and not at *Eumenes* his Tent, his Superiority in a manner was conceal'd, and yet in effect he manag'd the whole Buſineſs of the Conſult.

When the point of Precedency was in this manner accommodated, *Eumenes* met *Antigonus*, and had an encounter with him in *Parætacis*; not in a formal pitcht Battle, where the whole Army was engaged, but in ſmall skirmiſhes by Parties, where *Antigonus* was conſtantly

worſted, and obliged to retire to his Winter Quarters in *Media*; He in the mean time lodg'd his Forces in the Country of *Perſia*, not as if he had choſe the place for any advantage to himſelf, but the obſtinacy of his Soldiers obliged him to it; for that Wing of his Army (with which *Alexander* overrun *Aſia*, and Conquered *Perſia*) were ſo inſolent with the ſenſe of their former Victories, and the Glory they Atchiev'd there, that they thought it their Buſineſs to Command and not Follow their Leaders. Which really is the true character of our *Veterans*; and there is this danger in employing either of them, for fear their unrulineſs and untractable Spirit ſhould have this effect of deſtroying all before 'em, and their pride turn as prejudicial to their own Party, as their Valour is fatal to the Enemy; and if any one will take the pains to examine and compare the Actions of both, he muſt neceſſarily find a great parity and reſemblance betwixt them, and no other difference but in point of time. But to return from this digreſsion; *Eumenes* Quarter'd his Men in Poſts, not convenient for the Buſineſs of War, but accommodate to the Luxury of his Soldiers,

ers, and for this end they lay ſcatter'd in the Country, in no order at all, but at a great diſtance from each other. *Antigonus* was ſenſible of the diſorder they were in, and withall conſcious of his inability to attack them with ſucceſs, if they were form'd into a Body, or put in a poſture to receive him, and therefore chang'd his meaſures of aſſaulting them openly, and upon warning, and took new reſolutions; of doing it by ſurpriſe. There were two ways leading from his Winter Quarters in *Media*, to his Enemies Camp on the other ſide, the one of 'em was ſhort, exactly in a line, and lay croſs the Country, where there was nothing but Deſart and uninhabitable places, by reaſon of draught and the penury of water, and was only ten eaſy daies journy at the moſt; The other, which was the more beaten Tract, went round about in a circumference, and was much the longer paſſage, but ſtill had all the conveniences and accommodations of Travel. He foreſaw, that if he undertook to paſs in the more publick Road, the Enemy muſt neceſſarily be upon their Guard, and have intelligence of his March, before he had accompliſh'd the third part of his jour-

ney; but if he moved with his Army, in a ſtraight line, thro the Deſart part of the Country, he might have hopes to oppreſs 'em unawares, and unprovided for his coming; upon this reſolution, he ordered ſeveral Pitchers and Veſſels of water to be prepared, and a great deal of Provinder to be in readineſs, to ſupply the defect of the Country; and then took care for his Soldiers, that there ſhould be Bread and Victuals enough bak'd, to ſerve for ten daies; and this he did, becauſe he would not be put to the neceſsity of making fires upon every occaſion of Eating, for fear the Enemy ſhould diſcover his approach at a diſtance, and he ſhould have the ſecret of his journey betray'd.

In this Equipage, he ſets forward and begins the Compaign, who notwithſtanding this care, had not travell'd above half the way, but from the ſmoak in his Tents, and the duſt which his Army rais'd, *Eumenes* had great reaſon to ſuſpect that the Enemy was nigh. A Council of War is therefore preſently call'd, to conſult what was fitting to be done in this Exigence: It was the Judgement of moſt that were preſent, that their Troops could not be imbodied or collected,

lected, ſo ſoon as *Antigonus*, with the ſwiftneſs of his March would be upon them; at this debate (when almoſt the whole Council were at a loſs, and deſpair'd of any Expedient of ſafety) *Eumenes* aſſured the Board, *That if they would uſe Diligence and obey Orders, which hitherto they abſolutely refus'd, he would even yet bring things to a happy Iſſue; for whereas the Enemy might eaſily approach them in five daies time, he would order matters ſo, that he ſhould be retarded full as long, and be put back ten; wherefore*, ſaies he, *let every Officer go his Round, and collect the Soldiers that belong to his Company, and that lye ſcatter'd and diſpers'd at large in the Country:* Now this was the project that he us'd, to put a ſtop to *Antigonus* his motion and divert his courſe; He Commanded a Party of Men to lodge themſelves at the foot of the Mountains, where the Enemy was to paſs, and at the beginning of the Night, to make large fires, and extend them very wide in the Front, but to diminiſh the number and make them leſs in the ſecond Row, and ſo proportionably to render them more conſiderably ſmall in the third and hindmoſt Flank,

Flank, that ſo, by this reſemblance and ſhew of a Camp, the Enemy might be induc'd to think, his deſign was diſcover'd, that they were alarm'd at his approach, and moved their Tents, in order to meet him in the Road and give him Battle in the Deſart; This task the Officers were to renew every night; who according to their inſtructions perform'd their charge; *Antigonus* by this peice of ſubtility was deluded; who, as ſoon as it was dark, obſerv'd the fires, and fell into a Beleif, that theſe were really the Tents of his Enemies, and that the whole whole Army was Rendezvous'd and Encamp'd there to Fight them; ſo that he chang'd his reſolution, and ſince he ſaw himſelf defeated of his deſign, and could not poſsibly ſurpriſe them in diſorder, he turn'd his Courſe, and took the longer paſſage, which lay round about the Hills in a fruitful Soil, and tarry'd a day or two in the Country, to eaſe and refreſh his Soldiers (that were tyr'd with the Fatigue) and to give reſt to his Horſes; that after ſuch a Reſpit and Recruit, both Man and Beaſt might be in a better condition to oppoſe the Enemy, and more vigorouſly maintain the Fight.

By

By this ſtratagem *Eumenes* overreach't the policy of the General, and prevented the ſuddainneſs of his Attaque; and yet it was without any real advantage to himſelf in the end; for ſuch was the envy of his Officers that maligned his Glory, and ſo great was the perfidiouſneſs of the *Veterane* Soldiers, that 'tho in a brave Engagement (when they had put things to a puſh) they returned Conqueror from the Feild, and gain'd ſignal Trophies of Victory, yet they deliver'd their General Priſoner, and in Chains, to *Antigonus*; and this Treachery they acted, after they had thrice Religiouſly ſworn to defend him with their Lives and Fortunes, and never to deſert his cauſe; but ſo predominant was their envy above the conſideration of their Oaths, or the obligation of their Fidelity, that they choſe rather to violate their Faith, than not turn Inſtruments of his Ruin and betray him. *Antigonus* had certainly ſpar'd his Life (tho he was his moſt mortal and inveterate Enemy in the World) if his Council could have bin induc'd to have given way to it, becauſe he knew, that no Man Living could be more ſerviceable to him in the management of the Buſineſs

Buſineſs of War, which he had then in hand, and ſaw a neceſſity of continuing it; for both *Seleucus*, *Lyſimachus*, and *Ptolemy*, (who were all Men of Power and Strength) were ready to oppreſs his Grandeur, and contend with him for Soveraignty and the prize of Empire; But thoſe who were of *Antigonus* his Council, would not ſuffer ſuch a failure in Politicks, as to be willing to have his Life preſerv'd, whoſe promotion in a little time would certainly ſupplant their Eſteem, and render them inconſiderable in the Army; and beſides, *Antigonus* himſelf was ſo enrag'd againſt him, for the Outrages he done, and the havock that was made in the Army, that there was no hopes of his reconciliation, or pacifying his Anger, unleſs he had an aſſurance of a full compenſation by future Services in War.

When he was therefore committed to Cuſtody, and the Governor of the Priſon ask'd *Antigonus*, in what manner he would have him kept, *With the ſame care*, ſaies he, *as you would keep a wild Lyon, or the feirceſt Elephant*, under the ſtricteſt Guard: For he had not yet determin'd with himſelf, whether he would preſerve his Life or no; Now there came all

all ſorts of People to viſit *Eumenes* in his misfortune; ſome, out of hatred, to glut their eyes with the ſight and triumph over him in Affliction; Others, upon the account of Friendſhip, that formerly had bin betwixt them, went to comfort him in his Adverſity, and pay their Complement of Condolence to him; but the greateſt number came out of Curioſity to contemplate his form, and to know the ſhape and figure of the Man, to be able to remember and talk to their Acquaintance that they had ſeen the perſon, whom ſo long and ſo juſtly they had ſtood in dread of, and in whoſe deſtruction all their hopes of Victory and Peace were plac't; *Eumenes* (whoſe Spirit was troubled more at the impertinence of the Viſits, than at the greif of his Confinement) told *Onomarchus*, one day in Company, when he had bin long in Priſon, *That he wondered, he had bin kept three days without Death or Releaſement; that it was not ſutable to the methods of Prudence to uſe a Captive ſo, but that* Antigonus *ought either to Execute him preſently, or diſmiſs him ſafe, loaded with apprehenſions of Gratitude to his Friends.* *Onomarchus*, ſtartled at the boldneſs of this Diſcourſe,

What?

What? ſaies he, *If you have really this Courage and Bravery which you pretend, why did not you chuſe rather, to dye Honorably in the Feild, than fall ignominiouſly into the hands of your Enemy? Oh! would to God,* ſaies Eumenes, *this had bin in my Power or choice; but this could not poſſibly be my Fate, for I never in all my Life time had the Glory to Encounter a Braver Man than my ſelf, and never conteſted the point of Valour with any Hero yet, but forc't him to yeild and own me the Conqueror; and now tho I am baſely in your Power, yet my ignominy is to be aſcribed to the Treachery of my Friends, and not to the Proweſs of my Adverſary.* Neither was any thing of this Diſcourſe, tho it ſeem'd a Rant, falſe; for he had both a Majeſty in his preſence, that ſtruck an awe and terror into the Beholder, and ſuch a Gigantick firmneſs in his make and Limbs, as ſeem'd to be compos'd only for Work and Labour, and yet there was ſuch a Symmetry and proportion of parts, as render'd him both Auguſt and Comely.

Antigonus durſt not haſtily and alone determine of this Man's Fate, but left his caſe to the Conſideration and Wiſedom of his Council: *Here many of the Board*

Board ſtood aſtoniſh'd at the neglect of Juſtice, and wondered that Execution was not preſently done upon an Enemy, who for many years had laid waſt and ravaged their Country, ſlain the cheif of their Commanders, and put ſuch a Terror and Conſternation amongſt the Reſt, that they had bin brought even to extremity and deſpair; and if the ſenſe of theſe injuries is not ſufficient to juſtify or provoke his Ruin, yet let the danger of his Perſon weigh ſomething towards his Death: As long as he is in Being, there can be no ſecurity for our Preſervation, but we ſhall be conſtantly afraid, leſt he ſhould be violently releas'd from his Priſon to head a Mutiny or Sedition in the Camp; but at his Death theſe dangers ceaſe, and there can be no apprehenſion of Diſturbance to be rais'd from his Aſhes; but however, purſued they, *if* Antigonus *was inclined to give him Life, they humbly entreated to know, how he would new model his Council, or where he would find Officers to have place there; for with* Eumenes *none of the old Commanders would either Correſpond, or joyn Intereſts, or be at the ſame Board together.* Tho the Sentiments of the Council were in this manner made known, yet *Antigonus* takes ſeven days time

time to deliberate and pronounce his Doom; and then fearing an Inſurrection might be caus'd by the delay of Execution, he orders his Warders to be remov'd, his daily ſuſtenance to be withdrawn, and forbids all Mankind his preſence (for ſtill he would not offer violence to the Man who once had bin his Friend) that ſo he might periſh with Famine, without involving others in the guilt of his Blood; and yet *Eumenes* after three daies languiſhment with hunger, when his Spirits were impair'd and ſunk, unknown and without order from *Antigonus*, was kill'd by his Keepers, to prevent the care of tending him, in following the Camp.

Thus *Eumenes* (who, as we told you before, at twenty years of Age, was receiv'd at Court withall poſſible demonſtration of kindneſs, who for the ſpace of ſeven years was a conſtant Favourite and Attendant to King *Philip*, and afterwards was admitted to the ſame place in *Alexanders* eſteem, and enjoy'd it thirteen years more, to that degree, that in his time, he was conſtituted Maſter of the Horſe in the *SOCIAL ARMY*, who alſo, after his Death, was Commander in Cheif of the whole Army,

my, and either repelled the violence of his encroaching Competitors, or slew them in the Fight, maintaining the Boundaries and just Limits of their Power) thus I say, dyed this Great Commander, in the forty fifth year of his Age, and fell a Victim to the treachery of his Soldiers, rather than overcome by the Prowess of *Antigonus*. It is easy to judge, what opinion the Officers (who stiled themselves Kings after *Alexander's* Death) had of this Mans merit and Valour, by this single instance of their Pride; since, in his Life-time, they durst not assume that swelling Title, but were content with the Name and Appellation of *Præfects*; but after his Fall, took the Honour of the Name, and all the outward Ornaments that belong to Soveraignty and a Crown'd Head; neither did they perform what was the pretence and Ground of War, *The Office of Guardianship, or seek to preserve the Kingdomes for* Alexanders *Legitimate or Natural Issue:* But as soon as *Eumenes*, the only Defender and Asserter of their Cause was gone, they shew'd themselves openly in their own colours, and that their design was principally to raise and aggrandise themselves:

In this Conſpiracy againſt *Eumenes*, *Antigonus*, *Ptolemy*, *Seleucus*, *Lyſimachus*, and *Caſſander*, were cheifly concern'd, and paſſionately ſought his Ruin; however *Antigonus* had this Honour in him, to give the Corps to be bury'd by his Relations. Who perform'd his Funeral Rites in a Military Pomp, with the Attendance of the whole Army at his Hearſe; and after this Ceremony was over, tranſmitted his Urn into *Cappadocia*, to be Religiouſly kept by his Wife and Children, and preſerv'd there.

THE

THE LIFE OF PHOCION.

Done into *English* by Mr. *Todd*, Fellow of *University* Coll. *Oxon.*

PHOCION th' *Athenian*, tho he was many times * Cheif Commander of the Forces of his Country, and One who bore the highest Offices in the City; yet is He much more known for Integrity and Agreeableness of Life, then for any Military Exploits. Hence 'tis, there is no account of These upon Record, but very much said of his exact way of Living, and other

* Forty-five times, says *Plutarch*, before ever he was free of the City. He was the darling of the People, while out of favour with the Government.

other popular Qualities, which gave him the Title of *The Beneficent* *. He was never Rich, tho the ſeveral Places of Honour and Profit freely given him by the People might have plentifully fill'd his Coffers. When King *Philip* * preſented him with a vaſt ſum of Money, and by his Ambaſſadors preſs'd Him earneſtly to accept it; adviſing Him withal, *That, tho He for his own part, might eaſily diſpenſe with the want of it; yet he ought to be concern'd for the good of his Children, to whom it might be difficult in a low Ebb of Fortune, to maintain the Greatneſs of their Fathers Character:* He generouſly refuſed the Preſent, and told them, *If my Children prove ſuch as my ſelf, then that ſmall parcel of Ground will keep them, that has advanc'd me to this: But if they degenerate, I ſhould be loth their Luxury ſhould be ſupported or encouraged at my Proviſion.*

When he had enjoy'd a continu'd ſeries of Proſperity, till very near the eightieth year of his Age; in his latter daies he grew extreamly out of favour with his Fellow-Citizens. 'Twas laid to his Charge, that he conſpir'd with *Demades* to deliver up the City to *Antipater:* And by his Advice, *Demoſthenes*, and the reſt,

* The *Greek* name is χρηστος (χρηστιμω Heſych.) which was conferr'd upon him, ſays *Suid.* κοινῇ ψηφῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ in a Common Hall, *nemine contradicente*, becauſe He reliev'd many indigent Citizens, and contributed to provide for their Children.

* *Plutarch* ſays, it was his Son *Alexander* that ſent this Gift, as a Reward for the good ſervice he had done him, in keeping *Athens* true to His Intereſt while he was upon his *Aſian* Expedition. The ſum was 100 Talents, about 8000 pound *Engliſh.*

reſt, whom they now look'd upon as Perſons that deſerved well of the Commonwealth, were by Decree of Common-Council Baniſh'd. Nor was Male-adminiſtration his only Crime; they accuſed him for violating the common Obligations of Friendſhip: For, whereas he had been advanc'd, to thoſe Honours which he had, by the Eloquence and Intereſt of *Demoſthenes*; and particularly when he took his part againſt *Cares* *, in a Capital Cauſe, had been defended by him, and clearly brought off in open Court; He did not only not defend *Demoſthenes*, but as was ſaid, perfidiouſly betray'd him. But, the Crime that moſt of all caus'd his Ruin was this; When the Government of the City was in his hands, and he had notice given by *Dercyllus*, * that *Nicanor*, *Caſſanders* Lieutenant General, had a deſign to ſurpriſe *Piræus*; and alſo was deſired to take ſpecial care, that the City ſhould not want Proviſion: He ſaid publickly in the hearing of the People, that there was no danger at all; and promis'd them that He would engage his Life for their ſecurity. Not long after, *Nicanor* took *Piræus*: And, when the People roſe in Arms to regain it (without the Poſſeſ-

* An *Athenian* Captain, who went to aſſiſt the *Byzantines* againſt King *Philip*; but managing Affairs imprudently, He was call'd home, and *Phocion* ſent in his Place.

* Who defended *Athens* on the Land-ſide, ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ στρατηγός. *Plut.*

ſion of that Fort *Athens* cannot long ſubſiſt) he not only neglected to Summon the reſt of the Citizens to their Aſſiſtance, but refus'd to put himſelf in the head of thoſe that were ready to make the Aſſault.

At that time, there were two Factions in *Athens*; One ſtood for the Liberties of the People, the Other (amongſt whom were *Phocion* and *Demetrius Phalereus* *) aſſerted the Prerogatives of the Nobility: Both courted the Protection and Favour of the *Macedonians*; for the Cheif of the Popular Party favour'd *Polypercon* *; the Nobleſs ſided with *Caſſander* *. During theſe Heats, *Polypercon* drove *Caſſander* out of *Macedonia*. By this Victory the People getting the upper hand, immediately condemn'd all the Heads of the oppoſite Faction, and baniſh'd them the City: Amongſt whom were *Phocion* and *Demetrius Phalereus*. This done, they diſpatch an Expreſs to *Polypercon* about the buſineſs, and deſire Him that he would confirm their Decree*; *Phocion* underſtanding this, went thither in Perſon, and as ſoon as he appear'd, order was given that he ſhould plead his own Cauſe, in *form* indeed before King *Philip*, but in *effect* before *Polypercon*; for He

* A famous *Athenian* General, who perſwaded *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt* to have the Holy Bible tranſlated out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, by the LXXII. *Joſ. Ant. lib.* 12. *c.* 2.

* The one General (στρατηγὸς) and the other a Captain (χιλίαρχος) in *Antipaters* Army: Upon whoſe Death they fell out betwixt themſelves, and by their intereſt divided the *Athenians*.

* ψηφίσμα. *Plut.*

* *Philippus Aridæus*, an Effeminate, weak Prince.

He was, at that time, Protector of the Kingdom. One * *Agnonides* accus'd him, that he had betray'd *Piræus* to *Nicanor*, and thereupon by Order of Council he was committed to a Meſſenger, and remanded to *Athens*, that he might be proceeded againſt according to the Laws of his own Country.

* A violent, bawling Lawyer, who run down *Phocion* with noiſe and clamour: and was afterwards, when the *Athenians* better underſtood themſelves, condemn'd for his pains.

At his entrance into the City, (by reaſon of an Impediment in his feet he being forc'd to be carried in a Coach) there was a great concourſe of People to ſee Him. Some, remembring the greatneſs of his former Renown, extreamly pitied his old Age: many, were highly exaſperated againſt him, upon ſuſpition of Treaſon about the buſineſs of the Fort: but, that which enraged them moſt was, that now in his latter daies, he ſhould ſo much oppoſe the Liberties of the People. When he came to the Bar, they would not give him leave to plead his own Cauſe, but after a ſlight formality of Juſtice, publickly condemn'd him, and delivered him to the *Eleven*, to whom according to the cuſtom of the *Athenians*, the publick Execution of Traitors does belong. As he was drawn to the place of * Execution, one *Emphyletus*, formerly an intimate

* 'Twas on the nineteenth day of *March*, which was a Feſtival in honor of *Jupiter*, that the puniſhment might be more exemplary.

Acquaintance, meets him, and with tears in his eyes cry'd out; O Phocion! *how Unjuſt and Unworthy are theſe puniſhments thou endureſt?* They may be *Unjuſt*, reply'd the Priſoner, *but they are not in the leaſt Unexpected; for very many Eminent* Athenians *have gone this way to their Deaths.* The Odium of the Mobile was ſo violent, that no Freeman durſt bury him: therefore his Body was interr'd by Slaves *.

* *Thucydides* ſays, that one *Conopion*, a Common Officer burnt his Body, and that an old Woman gather'd up his Bones and bury'd them with this Wiſh, O Athenians, *when you return to your wits, give theſe Bones a more Honorable Burial.* It happen'd accordingly, for within a ſhort time finding their Error, in taking off ſo brave a Man, They reverted the Sentence, ſolemnly Interr'd his Body, Erected a Statue in Honor of Him at the publick cott; and condemn'd, or baniſhed all that had any hand in his Accuſation.

THE

THE LIFE OF *TIMOLEON.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Cary*, M. A. of St. *Mary*-Hall *Oxon.*

TIMOLEON, a *Corinthian* born, was without doubt, in the general * eſteem of the World, a very Eminent Man; for he had the happineſs to which few or none could arrive, of freeing his native Country from the oppreſſion of a Tyrant, of redeeming the City of *Syracuſe*, to whoſe aſsiſtance he was ſent, from a long continued Bondage, and of reſtoring all *Sicily* to its former condition, which had been long harraſs'd by War, and the inhumane uſage of the *Bar-*

* The *Carthaginians.*

* *Barbarians.* But in the managing of all those Affairs, he met with many different Adventures; and what is thought to be the hardest encounter of the two, he behav'd himself rather the more discreetly in his Prosperity, then in his Adversity. For when his Brother *Timophanes*, who was made General by the *Corinthians*, by the help of his Mercenary Soldiers had invaded the Soveraignty, and *Timoleon* might have had a share in the Royalty with him, He was so far from abetting any such peice of Villany, that he put a much greater value upon his Fellow Citizens Liberty, then he did upon his Brothers Life, and look'd upon himself infinitely more oblig'd to live in obedience to the Laws of his Country then to rule over it. Being a Man of these principles, he contriv'd to have his Brother the Tyrant Murther'd by a certain Soothsayer, and another who was related to 'em both, as having married their own Sister both by Father and Mother. In which Murther he was so far from having any hand, that he would not so much as look upon his Brothers bloodshed. For while the thing was putting in Execution by them, he took a Post at a distance, that none of his Live-

Live-guard might come to his Reſcue. This notable Action of his, was not look'd upon by all with the ſame eyes, for ſome took it to be a breach of Piety, and by a Sinister interpretation repreſented the whole matter as unwarrantable. Nay, his Mother, after this would never let him come within her Doors, nor as much as admit him into her preſence; but out of a deteſtation of the Fact, would brand him with the name of unnatural Aſſaſsine of his Prince, and Brother. At the hearing of which words, he was ſo mightily concern'd, that he had ſometimes thoughts of being his own Executioner, and by imbracing Death to abandon the ſight of an ungrateful World.

In the mean while, after *Dion* was ſlain at *Syracuſe*, *Dionyſius* made himſelf again Maſter of the Town; But they of the contrary Party, Petition'd the *Corinthians* for ſuccour, and deſir'd a General over their Forces. In which Expedition, *Timoleon* was ſent, and with wonderful ſucceſs, beat *Dionyſius* quite out of *Sicily*, yet ſpar'd his Life, when it was in his Power to have taken it away; and took particular care to ſee him ſafely convey'd to the City of *Corinth*,

rinth, which had been frequently ſupported by the aid and aſſiſtance it receiv'd from both the *Dionyſii*. Of which Favour *Timoleon* was willing to leave a Memorial; eſteeming that Conqueſt much more Honourable, which had in it more of Mercy than Cruelty. In a word, he ſent him thither alive, that the World might not receive it by Tradition only, but be eye-witneſſes, what a Perſonage he had reduc'd, from ſo great an Empire to ſo mean a condition. After *Dionyſius's* departure, *Timoleon* engaged in a freſh War with *Icetas*, who had acted contrary to *Dionyſius's* intereſt, not ſo much out of diſlike or hatred of his Tyranny, as out of private intereſt, as was plain from his unwillingneſs to quit his Command, when *Dionyſius* was depos'd. *Icetas* being defeated, *Timoleon* routed a very formidable Army of the *Carthaginians* at the River *Crimeſus*, and oblig'd them to reſt contented, if they might be permitted to live quietly in *Africk*, who for many years paſt had been in poſſeſſion of *Sicily*. Beſides all this, he took *Mamercus* an *Italian* Commander Priſoner, a very Warlike Man, and one of great intereſt, who had come over into *Sicily* to the

the Aſſiſtance of the Tyrants.

Theſe things being happily Atchiev'd, and finding by a long continuance of War, that not only Countries, but Cities alſo were depopulated, he drew together all poſsible Recruits, firſt of the *Sicilians*, then of new Planters which he brought over from *Corinth*, becauſe the City *Syracuſe* was by them Originally Founded. To the old Inhabitants he reſtor'd their own; he divided among thoſe of the new Plantation, the Eſtates of ſuch whoſe owners had been loſt in the Wars, he repair'd the ruinated Cities, and demoliſh'd Temples, he Erected anew the ſeveral States upon their old Laws and Liberties, and after a moſt dreadful War, ſettled ſo great a Peace and Quiet through the whole Iſland, that he might rather be taken for the Founder of thoſe Cities, then they who had at firſt Planted 'em. The Citadel of *Syracuſe* which *Dionyſius* had Fortifi'd, on purpoſe to block up the Town, he eras'd from the very Foundation, ſleighted all other Bulworks of Tyrannical Government, and did what in him lay, that as few marks of Bondage as could might remain. Having ſo great Power, as that he could have extorted obe-

obedience from them, and again being ſuch a Favourite of all the *Sicilians*, that he might have come to the Crown, by a unamimous conſent, he choſe rather to be Belov'd then Fear'd. Therefore as ſoon as conveniently he could, he laid down his Command, and paſs'd the remaining part of his Life there, as a private Perſon. And this was not done unadviſedly; for he maintain'd that Grandeur and Authority through a mutual good will, which other Princes could never compaſs by force. Every Man paid him conſtantly a very great reſpect, and no publick Buſineſs was ever after Tranſacted at *Syracuſe*, of which any Decree was made, before *Timoleon's* ſenſe of the matter was underſtood. No Mans Counſel was ever preferr'd before his, nor as much as ſtood in competition with it. And ſo to do was not more their Affection, then Wiſedom.

When he was grown old, he loſt his Eye-ſight; which Affliction he bore with ſo much Patience, that he was never heard to complain of it, nor was yet leſs uſeful in private concerns or publick Affairs. For he came to the *Theatre*, when the People met there in Counſel,

drawn

drawn by a pair of Mules, by reaſon of his infirmities *, and ſo from the Coach deliver'd his opinion concerning the matter in debate, which no Body look'd upon as a piece of pride in him, for never did any thing like Inſolence or vain Glory come out of his mouth. If at any time he had heard himſelf magnify'd, he would only reply, that he did ſignally bleſs the Gods, and was bound upon that particular account to be always thankful, for that, when the Gods were graciouſly pleas'd to raiſe *Syracuſe*, they made choice of him as their unworthy Inſtrument. For he thought, that no humane actions were brought to perfection without an overruling Providence. And therefore he Erected a private Chappel in his houſe to Fortune, where he with much conſtancy and zeal paid his Devotions.

* He was Aged, Blind, and had the Gout.

Beſides this moſt excellent temper of his, ſeveral remarkable Accidents concurr'd to render him famous. For all his moſt memorable Battels happen'd to be fought upon the day on which he was born; ſo that it fell out, that all *Sicily* made their Anniverſary Feaſts on his Birth-day. When one *Laphyſtius*, an inconſiderable, ſawcy, and ungrateful Fellow,

Fellow, requir'd ſtipulation of him for an appearance, under colour of an Action that he had againſt him; and the Multitude flocking together, endeavour'd forcibly to curb the pretenders inſolence; *Timoleon* beſeech'd 'em to deſiſt; Alledging, that he had gone through great hardſhips, and extream dangers, chiefly upon the account, that *Laphyſtius* and others might enjoy their Liberty. For the true nature of Freedome is, that any one may try out whatever Cauſe he has by due Courſe of Law. When another Fellow, much like *Laphyſtius*, *Demænetus* by name, in a Harangue before all the People Aſſembled in Counſel, had detracted from the Glory of *Timoleon's* Actions, and had ſharply inveigh'd againſt him, he made no other anſwer, but that he now found that his Prayers were heard; For he had ever made it his humble Requeſt to the Gods, that the *Syracuſians* might enjoy ſuch a Liberty, whereby every one might be free, to ſpeak his Sentiments of whom he pleas'd. When he dy'd he was interr'd at the publick charge of the *Syracuſians* (in an Academy, which had its denomination from him) all finely attending his Funerals.

THE

THE LIFE OF *HAMILCAR.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Brideoke*, M. A. of *Trin.* Coll. *Oxon.*

HAMILCAR, a *Carthaginian*, Sirnam'd *Barcas*, the Son of *Hannibal*, at the later end of the firſt *Punic* War, tho then very young, was Conſtituted Generaliſſimo of the Forces in *Sicily*. In which Employment he behav'd himſelf ſo well, that (tho before his time the *Carthaginian* Army was always worſted, both by Sea and Land) he ſtill kept his Ground, and was ſo vigilant, that his Enemies could never find him unprovided;

but on the contrary, when opportunity ſerv'd, would fall upon them, and always made himſelf Maſter of the Field. Moreover, when the *Carthaginians* by their ill ſucceſs had very near loſt all footing in *Sicily*, he ſo prudently defended the City *Eryx*, as not to leave the leaſt ſign of a War behind him. But in the interim, *C. Lutatius*, the then *Roman* Conſul, having beaten the *Carthaginian* Fleet at the Iſlands *Ægates*, the *Carthaginians* reſolv'd to Conclude the War, and to that end made *Hamilcar* their Plenipotentiary. Who, tho naturally more inclin'd to War than Peace, yet in that Juncture of Affairs, He prefer'd Peace; becauſe his Country being then poor, could no longer endure the hardſhips and expences of War; yet he reſerv'd this to himſelf, that as ſoon as the *Carthaginians* were a little refreſhed, again to renew the War, and by Arms oppoſe the *Romans*, until Fortune had determin'd the Conqueſt. With this reſolution he concluded the Peace; in the ſetling whereof, He was ſo ſtout, that when *Catulus* refus'd to ſign the Articles, unleſs He, with the whole Garriſon of the City *Eryx*, would depart *Sicily* without their Arms; He bravely and

ſharply

ſharply replyed, that tho his Country being poor, could yeild him no aſsiſtance, yet he would rather dye, than return to his home with ſuch Ignominy and Reproach. For it would not conſiſt with his Valour, tamely to deliver up to his Enemies thoſe Weapons which were committed to his Truſt for the defence of his Country. Upon this his reſolution *Catulus* comply'd.

But *Hamilcar*, ſo ſoon as he arriv'd at *Carthage*, found the Commonwealth in a condition worſe than he expected. For by the long continuance of the Forreign War, Inteſtine diſcords were ſo much heightn'd, that *Carthage* was never in the like dangerous condition, unleſs when it was quite raz'd and demoliſh'd. For the Mercenary Soldiers who were twenty thouſand ſtrong, and (who had formerly fought againſt the *Romans*) Revolting, drew all *Africa* to their Party, and likewiſe beſieged *Carthage*. By which great misfortune the *Carthaginians* were ſo Terrify'd, that they ſought for Aid and Protection from their greateſt Enemies, the *Romans*, and obtain'd their Requeſt. But in fine, when they were almoſt reduc'd to the utmoſt extremities of miſery and de-

ſpair, they voted *Hamilcar* their General. Who not only made thoſe Rebels, who were above twenty thouſand, to raiſe their ſiege from before *Carthage*, but alſo forc'd them to that extremity, that ſhutting them up in places where they were void of all relief, more periſh'd by Famine than were kill'd by the Sword. He brought back again the revolted Towns to their former Duty and Obedience; and amongſt the reſt, *Utica* and *Hippo*, the two wealthieſt Cities of all *Africa*. Neither was He ſatisfied with this; but he alſo enlarg'd the Empire, and all *Africk* was ſo ſettled, that none could imagine that there had been any War there for many years before.

Theſe things being finiſh'd by him ſo ſucceſsfully, out of a couragious and an exaſperated mind againſt the *Romans*, and that He might more handſomely pick a Quarrel with them, he contriv'd, that he himſelf ſhould go Commander with an Army into *Spain*, taking along with him his young Son *Hannibal*, then but nine years old. With him marcht *Haſdrubal*, that Beautiful and brave Youth; whom ſome think to have been belov'd too much by *Hamilcar*, in a man-

a manner not allowed to his Sex: For great Men ſeldom eſcape ill Men's malicious Tongues. And upon this account, the Youth *Hasdrubal* was forbid by the Cenſor to attend the General. But *Hamilcar* giving his Daughter in Marriage to *Hasdrubal*, found out that way, as the beſt expedient, of enjoying the Youth's company; for their Laws did not forbid the Son-in-law to converſe with his Father. I thought this paſſage worthy of my notice, becauſe when *Hamilcar* was kill'd, he Commanded the Army, and was Succeſsful in many remarkable Exploits; and during his Command, by large Gifts he ſo corrupted the ancient manners of the *Carthaginians*, that after his Death *Hannibal* receiv'd his Power from the Army.

Hamilcar, after he had croſs'd the Sea, and enter'd *Spain*, with great ſucceſs undertook vaſt Deſigns; he ſubdu'd the moſt Warlike, and the wealthieſt Countries: and furniſhed all *Africa* with Men and Horſes, Arms and Mony. But as He was deſigning a War on *Italy*, in the ninth year after his entrance into *Spain*, Fighting againſt the *Vettones*, He was unfortunately ſlain. His implacable hatred againſt his Ene-

mies the *Romans*, was the cheif cauſe of the ſecond *Punick* War; for his Son *Hannibal* was ſo exaſperated by the daily and repeated Conjurations of his Father, that he often declar'd, He had rather periſh, than not try the Courage of the *Romans*.

THE

THE LIFE OF HANNIBAL, THE *CARTHAGINIAN*, THE Son of HAMILCAR.

Done into *Engliſh* by the Honourable Mr. *Leopold William Finch*, Fellow of *All-Souls* Coll. *Oxon.*

AS 'tis a Truth of undoubted Certainty, That the *Romans* did exceed all other People in Bravery, ſo likewiſe muſt it be confeſt, That *Hannibal* was as far above all other Commanders for his Wiſedom and

Conduct, as the *Roman* Valour was more eminent than that of all different Nations. For during the whole time that *Italy* was the Seat of his Action, Success continually waited on his Arms; insomuch, that had not the Envy of his Enemies at home unfortunately hindred his Progress abroad, He seems to have been sufficiently able to have made an absolute Conquest over the *Roman* Empire. But too numerous were his detracting Foes, to be Encounter'd by the Gallantry of a single Person. He so improv'd the Hatred that his Father bore the *Roman* Nation, and which was in a manner Hereditary to Him, that He would sooner have parted with his Life, then in the least have abated of his Aversion to that People. For tho he lay under the unhappy circumstances of a Banished Man, and consequently was obliged to Forreign Princes for their assistance, yet He never ceas'd (at least in his intention) to wage War with the *Romans*. Not to instance in King *Philip* (whom he render'd an Enemy to that Nation, tho he had not the advantage of Consulting with him in Person) He possess'd King *Antiochus*, a Prince of the greatest Strength and Power of those times,

times, with ſo eager a deſire of making War upon them, that he raiſed the whole Force of his Empire, as far as the *Red Sea*, with a deſign to Invade *Italy*. To this *Antiochus* it was, that Embaſſadors were ſent from *Rome*, to the intent they might inform themſelves of his Reſolutions, and uſe all poſſible endeavors, by underhand Polices, to bring *Hannibal* into ſuſpicion with the King, by aſſuring Him, that (as if they had withdrawn him from his Fidelity) He now eſpous'd a quite different Intereſt than He had formerly ſerved. They effected this with no ſmall ſucceſs, as *Hannibal* ſoon perceiv'd, when he found that He was turn'd out of the Privy Councel; ſo that at a convenient time, He firſt waits on the King, and having put him in mind of his great Loyalty to him, and his Hatred to the *Roman* People, he added over and above, *When I was a Boy of about nine years of Age, my Father* Hamilcar *being upon his departure from* Carthage, *as General into* Spain, *offer'd up Sacrifice to the Great* Jupiter; *during which Solemnity, he asked me, whither I would have him company to the Camp; which when I readily accepted of, and began to importune him, that he would not*

ſcruple

*ſcruple to take me along with Him; I will (*ſays he*) grant your Requeſt, provided you will take an Oath, which I ſhall propoſe to you; Upon which he led me to the Altar where he deſign'd to Sacrifice. And when (according to Cuſtom) I had laid my Hands upon it; the reſt of the company being at a diſtance, he commanded me to ſwear, That I would never be in Friendſhip with the* Roman *People. This Oath, which my Father then gave me, I have preſerv'd ſo inviolably to this very day, as not to give any Man the leaſt ground of ſuſpecting, but that I ſhall be ever of the ſame Diſpoſition. So that now if you entertain any thoughts of contracting any kind of Friendſhip with the* Romans, *'twill be your wiſeſt courſe to conceal it from my knowledg; but on the other hand, whenever you deſign a War with them, you will very much miſtake your meaſures, if you do not principally commit the management of it to my hands.*

'Twas at this Age he accompanied his Father into *Spain*, after whoſe Death *Hasdrubal* ſucceeding as General, the Command of the Cavalry was conferr'd upon Him; and *Hasdrubal* not long after

after being Murder'd, the Army unanimouſly choſe Him in his place; an account of which no ſooner reach'd *Carthage*, but was receiv'd with the public Approbation of the State. Thus *Hannibal*, not yet twenty five-years of Age, was actually General of all the *Carthaginian* Forces, and within the ſpace of three years after, ſubdued all the Countries of *Spain*; He took *Saguntum* (a City in Alliance with the *Romans*) by Storm. He rais'd three vaſt Armies; one of which he ſent into *Afric*, another he left with his Brother *Hasdrubal* in *Spain*, and the third he Commanded in Perſon into *Italy*. He paſs'd the *Pyrenean* Mountains, and all along as he march'd, having frequent Encounters with the Inhabitants, He Conquer'd all He Fought. Coming at laſt to thoſe *Alps* which divide *Italy* from *Gallia*, the Inhabitants oppos'd his Paſſage, which He ſoon laid open by cutting them in pieces. He was the firſt Man that ever led an Army over theſe Mountains, except *Hercules* the *Grecian*, from whoſe paſſage they took their Name. Here *Hannibal* open'd the Way, and fortified the Paſs, making ſo great an alteration, that the Elephants, together with their Furniture, could march conveniently in that very

ry place, where before a ſingle Man, tho unarm'd, could ſcarce creep along. From hence leading his Forces into *Italy*, he had an Encounter on the River *Rhone* with *P. C. Scipio* the Conſul, and put him to flight. He fought him likewiſe near the River *Po*, for the Town *Claſtidium*, where *Scipio* himſelf was wounded, and his Army utterly routed. He had a third Battel with him and his Collegue *Tiberius Longus*, who advanc'd towards Him near the River *Trebia*, where he engaged them and defeated them both. Marching at length through *Liguria*, he croſs'd the *Appenine* Hills, intending for *Hetruria*. In this march he was extreamly afflicted with a deſtemper in his Eyes, to that degree, that he could never recover the perfect uſe of his right one again; But notwithſtanding his indiſpoſition was ſuch that he was forc'd to be carried in a Litter, he obtain'd a very ſignal Victory over *C. Flaminius* the Conſul, at the Lake *Thraſimenus*, where having circumvented him by ambuſh, he cut him off with his whole Army. In a ſhort time after, he ſerv'd *C. Centenius* in the ſame manner, who with a choſen party of Men, had poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Tops of the Moun-

* Now call'd *Lago di Perugia*.

Mountains. He came from hence into *Apulia*, where the two Conſuls *C. Terentius Varro*, and *Lucius Paulus Æmilius* advanc'd towards Him, and in one Battel he routed both their Armies; In which Engagement *Lucius Paulus* the Conſul was kill'd, with many more who had ſuſtain'd that Dignity, amongſt whom was *Cn. Serilius Geminus*, who had enjoyed it the foregoing year. After this Action, He march'd to *Rome* without any Oppoſition. He halted for ſome time on the neighbouring Mountains, and in a few days after decamp'd from thence. In his return to *Capua*, *Q. Fabius Maximus* the *Roman* Dictator, oppos'd himſelf to him in the *Falernian* Field. Tho the Streights were ſo very narrow, that *Hannibal's* Army was perfectly ſhut up, yet by the advantage of the Night he got away without any damage. Here it was, that he outwitted that ſubtle Commander *Fabius*: For in the dead of the Night he commands his Soldiers to ſet fire to the Bowes of Trees, which he had before order'd to be faſten'd to the Horns of a conſiderable number of Oxen, which he drove in a hurry upon them. This unexpected ſight was no ſooner beheld, but it put the *Roman* Army into ſuch a conſternation,

ſternation, that not a man offer'd to ſtir out of his Trenches. A fews days after, he defeated *Marcus Minutius Rufus*, General of the Cavalry (whoſe Command at that time, by the Votes of the People, was made equal to that of Dictator) whom he had cunningly decoy'd into a Battel. And tho he was not preſent at the Action (as being then in *Lucania*), yet at a diſtance he laid an Ambuſh for *Titus Sempronius Gracchus*, the ſecond time Conſul, and ſlew him; as he did *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*, who had five times bore that Office. 'Twould be a tedious work to give a diſtinct Relation of each particular Action, ſo that this ſhort Account ſhall ſuffice, to ſhew the World how extraordinary a Perſon he was. That ſo long as he was in *Italy* no man was able to reſiſt him in Battel; neither durſt any one after the Defeat at *Cannæ* make Head againſt him in the Field. Being thus far a Conqueror, He was at laſt call'd home to the Relief of his own Country. He was employed in the management of the War againſt the Son of that *Scipio* whom he had formerly beaten on the Rivers of *Rhone* and *Po*, having likewiſe defeated him near the River *Trebia*. But the Affairs of his

his Country being in a deſperate condition, he was very willing (in a Conference with *Scipio*) to put an end to the War at preſent, that he might be in a better condition to renew it. Accordingly they had an Interview; but the Conditions propoſed were ſuch as could not be agreed upon. So that in a few days afterwards he fought him at *Zama*; in which Battel, *Hannibal* being utterly routed, with incredible ſpeed, in the ſpace of two days and two nights, arriv'd at *Adrumetum*, which is three hundred miles diſtant from *Zama*. In this flight the *Numidians* (who quitted the Battel at the ſame time with *Hannibal*) conſpir'd againſt him; but he had not only the good Fortune to avoid their Treachery, but to ſuppreſs them. Here he rallied together all thoſe who had ſaved themſelves by flight; and new Muſters being made, in a few days he liſted a conſiderable number. While he was thus earneſtly employed in making preparations for a War, the *Carthaginians* conclude a Peace with the *Romans*. *Hannibal* notwithſtanding had the Command of an Army, and (together with his Brother *Mago*) was in Action in *Afric* till the time that *P. Sulpicius*

picius and *Caius Aurelius* were Conſuls; for 'twas during their Magiſtracy, that the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadors were ſent from *Carthage* to *Rome*, to return thanks to the Senate and People for the Peace they had granted; and in conſideration of the Favour, to preſent them with a Golden Crown; intreating them withal, that their Hoſtages might be remov'd to *Fregellæ*, and their Priſoners Reſtor'd. To whom the Senate gave this anſwer, that as their Preſent was very grateful and acceptable to them, ſo likewiſe they conſented, that their Hoſtages might be lodg'd where they had deſir'd; but that their Captives ſhould by no means be releas'd, becauſe they ſtill employ'd *Hannibal* (the Author and Beginner of the War, and the irreconcileable Enemy of the *Roman* Name) with his Brother *Mago*, in the chief Command of their Armies. They no ſooner receiv'd this anſwer, but *Hannibal* and *Mago* were recall'd home again. *Hannibal* at his return, was choſen Prætor, after he had been King twenty-two years. For as it was cuſtomary at *Rome*, yearly to elect two Conſuls; at *Carthage* two Kings were annually choſen. He acquitted himſelf in this Employment, with the

the ſame Prudence as he did in War; For he took care, that the new Impoſts ſhould not only furniſh Mony for the Tribute paid to the *Romans*, but that ſome over and above ſhould be left to lay up in the Exchequer. The year after his Prætorſhip, Embaſſadors arriving at *Carthage*, *Hannibal* ſuſpecting they came to demand him, privately takes Ship before they could have Audience of the Senate, and flies to King *Antiochus* in *Syria*; which when the *Carthaginians* knew, they immediately ſent out two Ships with orders to apprehend him if they could overtake him, which not being able to effect, they confiſcated his Goods, raz'd his Houſe to the very ground, and proclaim'd him a Baniſht Man. In the Conſulſhip of *Lucius Cornelius* and *Quintus Minutius* (which was three years after his departure from his own Country) He Cruis'd for ſometime about the Coaſt of *Cyrenaica* with five Ships, endeavouring to perſwade the *Carthaginians* to renew the War, upon the confidence of *Antiochus* his ſtrength, whom he had already perſwaded to invade *Italy*; then He engage'd his Brother *Mago* in the deſign of which, the *Carthaginians* being inform'd, they us'd

him with the ſame ſeverity they had inflicted on his Brother. Thus their Affairs being in an ill condition, they ſet ſail for *Aſia* to King *Antiochus*. There are two different accounts given of the Death of *Mago*, ſome Authors affirming that he periſhed by Shipwrack, others, that he was murdered by his own Servants. Had *Antiochus* hearken'd to *Hannibals* Councel, as well in the management of the War, as he had done in the undertaking it, the deciſion of the Empire of the World might have been nearer the River *Tibur* then the Streights of *Thermopylæ*. But notwithſtanding, this Great Commander well underſtood the Imprudence of his Conduct, yet he would never forſake him in any Enterprize. He was made Admiral of a ſmall Fleet, with orders to convey them from *Syria* into *Aſia*, with this he ingaged the *Rhodian* Navy in the *Pamphylian* Sea, who being very much Superior to him in number, his party was beaten, tho that Squadron which he himſelf fought in, had the advantage of the Enemy. After the Defeat of *Antiochus*, *Hannibal* fearing leaſt he would deliver him up to the *Romans* (as certainly he would have done, had not He prevented him) went into *Crete* to the

the *Gortynians*, that he might have time there to conſider, how to diſpoſe of Himſelf hereafter. And here, out of his extraordinary ſubtility, He foreſaw he ſhould be in great danger, by reaſon of the Covetous humor of the *Cretans*. For he brought a conſiderable ſum of money with Him, the rumour of which he knew was already ſpread abroad. This therefore was his device; Having fill'd a great number of Veſſels with Lead, and covering the top of them with Gold and Silver, He places them in the Temple of *Diana*, in the preſence of the *Gortynians*; pretending that He committed his whole Fortune to their Truſt. After he had put this cheat upon them, He fills up ſeveral Braſs hollow Statues (which he had brought along with Him) with his money, and throws them negligently in the outward Court. In the mean time, they guard the Temple with the greateſt ſtrictneſs; not ſo much ſuſpecting other people, as fearing leaſt *Hannibal*, without their knowledge might remove the prize He had committed to them. Thus our *Carthaginian*, having ſav'd his Treaſure intire, and finely deluded the people of *Crete*, He came at length to *Pruſias* the King of

Bythinia in *Pontey*; where He ſtill preſerv'd his old inclination towards *Italy*, and made it his endeavor to engage the King againſt the *Roman* People. But when He perceiv'd He was not ſtrong enough of Himſelf to oppoſe them, He Aſſociated other Kings, and Warlike Nations in a Confederacy. *Eumenes*, as being a great Friend to the *Roman* Intereſt, refus'd to joyn in the Alliance; ſo that they maintain'd a War with each other, both by Sea and Land. But being back'd by the *Romans*, He was infinitely too hard for them. Now *Hannibal* perceiving, how neceſſary it was for the better ſucceſs in His Affairs, that *Eumenes* ſhould be cut off, he reſolves upon this way to rid himſelf of Him. They were in a ſhort time to engage at Sea; but *Hannibal* being overpower'd in number, Stratagem was to ſupply the place of Strength; Accordingly he charges his Men to get as many poyſonous Serpents as they could, and put them into Earthen Veſſels; of which they procur'd (as commanded) a conſiderable number. On the day that they were to fight, having call'd his Seamen together, he gave them order, that they ſhould all ruſh together upon the Ship

in

in which *Eumenes* was, and that in the mean time, they need not doubt, but that they were able enough to defend themſelves from the reſt, ſince they were provided of ſo great a number of Serpents. It ſhould be his buſineſs to ſhew them which was the Ship he would have aſſaulted, and likewiſe to reward the perſon, who ſhould either kill the King, or take Him Priſoner. After he had given theſe directions, the two Fleets being ſet in order, and about to engage; That his Soldiers might plainly ſee, where this *Eumenes* was before the ſign was given, He ſends out a Meſſenger in a ſmall Boat, having a white Wand in his Hand (as a token of Peace) when he was come near to the Enemies Fleet, he ſhews them a Letter, asks for the King, upon which he was immediately Conducted to Him, every one taking it for granted, that *Hannibal* had ſent him to treat of Peace; the Meſſenger having thus diſcover'd to his own Party which was the Kings Ship, returns again. When *Eumenes* had broke open the Letter, He found nothing contain'd therein, but what tended to Laughter and Contempt of his Perſon; He very much wonder'd what the meaning of

this ſhould be, which tho he could not underſtand, without any more ado, He engages the Enemy; At the very firſt Onſet, the *Bythinians*, according to their orders, ruſhing on altogether, beſet *Eumenes* his Ship, who being not able to withſtand their ſhock, ſaved his Life by flight, which he could never have effected, had he not betook himſelf to his Guards in the neighbouring Shore. When the reſt of the Navy of *Eumenes* began more fiercely to Attack the *Bythinians*, they pour'd in their Veſſels upon them, which at firſt the Enemy only Laught at, who could not deviſe what their intent could be. But when they perceiv'd that their Ships were full of Serpents, being affrightned with the ſtrangeneſs of the thing, and knowing not what danger chiefly to avoid, at laſt they tack'd about, and made to their Port; So that the Cunning of *Hannibal* was too Powerful for the Force of the *Pergamenan* Navy; Who by the ſame kind of Stratagem had frequently obtain'd great Victories at Land. While theſe things were Tranſacting in *Aſia*, King *Pruſias's* Embaſſadors (then at *Rome*) being accidentally at Supper with *Caius Quintus Flaminius* the Conſul;

ſul; ſomebody accidentally happening to mention *Hannibals* Name, one of the company ſaid, that He was in their Kingdom. The next day *Flaminius* acquaints the Senate, with what had been affirm'd by this perſon, who imagining that they ſhould be never free from Treacheries, ſo long as *Hannibal* was alive; deſpatched Embaſſadors into *Bythinia*, (one of which was *Flaminius*) who were to demand of the King, that He ſhould not protect their moſt inveterate Enemy, but forthwith deliver Him up into their Hands. *Pruſias* could not deny, but that *Hannibal* was in his Dominions, tho He refus'd Himſelf to betray Him to the Embaſſadors; deſiring, that they would not Requeſt any thing which was ſo much againſt the Laws of Hoſpitality; But let them take Him if they could, who without any difficulties might find Him out. *Hannibal* conſtantly confin'd Himſelf to one place, being a Caſtle, with which the King had Preſented Him as a Reward for his Services, which He ſo contriv'd, that he had Sallies on all ſides, through which he might eſcape, if he ſhould have occaſion; for he always ſuſpected that that would befall Him, which at laſt did really happen. The *Roman*

Embaſſadors accompanied with a great number of Men, having at length ſurrounded this Caſtle on all parts; his Servant perceiving them from the Gate, runs to his Maſter and acquaints Him, that there appear'd a more then uſual company of Armed Men; upon which He commands him to go round all the doors of the Houſe, and ſpeedily bring Him word whither there was any way to eſcape. When the Boy had immediately acquainted him how the caſe ſtood, and had farther aſſur'd Him, that all the paſſages were ſtopt, he was ſoon ſatisfied that this could not happen by accident, but that they came to ſeize his perſon, and that conſequently he could not long enjoy his Life, which He was reſolv'd ſhould not be in another Mans diſpoſal; upon which he immediately ſwallowed a doſe of poyſon, which he was always accuſtom'd to carry with Him. Thus this our moſt Valiant *Hero*, harraſs'd with numerous and various Labours, repos'd himſelf in Death the ſeventieth year of his Age. Authors do not agree in whoſe Conſulſhip He dyed. For *Atticus* in his Annals affirms, that *Claudius M. Marcellus*, and *Q. Fabius Labeo*, did then bare that Office; *Polybius* on the other

other hand asserts, that it was in the time of *Lucius Æmilius Paulus*, and *Cn. Bælius Tamphilus*. But *Sulpicius* different from both, says, that *P. Corn. Cethegus*, and *Marcus Bæbius Tamphilus* were at that time Consuls. Tho this our Great Man was always imploy'd in the business of War, yet He bestowed some time in Learning. For he wrote several Books in the *Greek* Tongue, amongst which, one is an account of the Actions of *Cn. Manlius Volsus* in *Asia*, which he dedicated to the People of *Rhodes*. Many there are who have given an account of the Wars of *Hannibal*, among which were *Philenius* and *Sosilus* the *Lacedemonian*, who were his Fellow-Soldiers, and liv'd with Him as long as Fortune permitted. He made use of *Sosilus* as his Master, to Instruct Him in the *Greek* Tongue.

But now it is time for me to make an end of this History, and proceed to the giving an account of the *Roman* Generals, that comparing each others Virtues, we may be able to make an Estimate, which were the Braver Men.

THE

THE LIFE OF CATO.

Done into *English* by Mr. *Edw. Robinson* of *Merton* Coll. *Oxon.*

CATO was a Native of the Corporation of *Tusculum*; while Young, before he engag'd in Publick Affairs, he Liv'd in the Country of the *Sabines*, because there was his Estate left him by his Father; *M. Perpenna Censorinus* was us'd to relate, that by the encouragement and advice of *L. Valerius Flaccus*, (who was afterwards his Partner both in the Offices of Consul and Censor) he remov'd to *Rome*, and apply'd himself to the Law. When he was seventeen years old,

old, he liſted himſelf a Soldier, which was under the Conſulſhip of *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*. He was a Tribune in the Army of *Sicily*: when he return'd thence, he went a Volunteer into the Army under the Command of *M. Claudius Nero*; where he did very good ſervice in the Battel of *Sena*, in which *Haſdrubal*, *Hannibal's* Brother, was ſlain. He was by lot choſe Queſtor to *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus* the Conſul, with whom he did not live in that Friendſhip which the Duty of the place requir'd; and no wonder, conſidering the whole courſe and bent of his Life was ſo contrary to that of *Scipio's*. He was made Ædile with *C. Helvius*. When he was Prætor, he had the Province of *Sardinia* alotted him for his Government; From whence ſome time before (when he was Queſtor) as he was returning out of *Africk*, he invited and brought along with him *Q. Ennius* the Poet, *which was a prize of no leſs value, then the greateſt Triumph* Sardinia *could afford*. He was Conſul with *L. Valerius Flaccus*; He gain'd by lot the Government of *Hiſpania Citerior*; From whence he return'd loaden with the Honours of a Triumph. He continu'd

tinu'd in this Province ſomething longer then was uſual, upon which *Scipio Africanus*, (who was now again Conſul, and whoſe Queſtor *Cato* had been in his former Conſulſhip) endeavour'd to remove him, and ſucceed in it himſelf: *Scipio* was then the greateſt Man in *Rome*, yet was his intereſt not ſtrong enough to gain this point of the Senate: *Becauſe at that time affairs were not Govern'd by Power, or the ſway of a Faction, but according to the ſevere Rules of Juſtice.* But this diſappointment ſo diſguſted *Scipio*, that when that Seſſion of the Senate was ended, he retir'd from Publick Employment, and liv'd privately in the City; *Cato* being Elected Cenſor with the forementiond *Flaccus*, behav'd himſelf in that Office with a great deal of rigor: He cenſur'd ſeveral of the Nobility, publiſh'd new Edicts to reſtrain the growth of Luxury, which at that time began to ſhow it ſelf in its buds. He ſpent about eighty years from his Youth to the laſt days of his Life, in the ſervice of the Commonwealth, in all which time, the ſincere purſute of the intereſt of the Commonwealth continually rais'd him many Enemies, which he ſo little valu'd, that the fear of no Man's diſpleaſure could influence him

him ſo far as to alter his meaſures. Very many there were, who fram'd accuſations againſt him, which were ſo far from injuring his Reputation, that his good Name grew as faſt upon him as his Age. He was a Man of great Conduct and Application in Buſineſs; He was a skilful Husbandman, a good Stateſman, a good Lawyer, a great General, a perſwaſive Orator, and none more addicted to Learning: He did indeed apply himſelf to Letters ſomething late, yet was there ſcarcely any thing in the *Greek* or *Roman* Literature, that he did not perfectly underſtand. From his Youth he exercis'd himſelf in the compoſing of Orations. When he was old, he entertain'd himſelf with writing Hiſtory, of which he left ſeven Books: The firſt contains the Actions of the *Roman* Kings: The ſecond, gives an account of the Founding and Beginning of each City in *Italy*, upon which reaſon poſſibly he entitles his Books *Origines*. In the fourth, he gives a relation of the firſt *Punick* War, and in the fifth of the ſecond; and of all theſe things he has only given us the Heads or matter of Fact, without engageing in the particular circumſtances of Affairs:

fairs: After the ſame manner he wrote the reſt of the *Roman* Wars, even to the Prætorſhip of *Ser. Galba*, (who has the infamy of pillaging of *Luſitani* fix'd upon his name). In theſe his Chronicles of the Wars, he did not mention any Commanders, but without any names at all, gave us the naked Event of things. We have given a more particular account of his Life and manners, in that Hiſtory, which at the Requeſt of *Titus Pomponius Atticus*, we wrote on purpoſe concerning him, to which we remit the Lovers of *Cato*.

THE

THE LIFE OF *ATTICUS.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Morgan* of St. *John's* Coll. *Oxon.*

POMPONIUS *Atticus* was Deſcended of one of the moſt antient Houſes in *Rome*, and the Dignity of a Knight was deriv'd down to him from his Anceſtors, being an Honor Inherent in his Family. His Father was an induſtrious Man, and very indulgent towards him; was of a Genius Accomodated to the times, and very ſtudious; As He was a Lover of Learning himſelf, ſo he infus'd thoſe inclinations into his Son; for he train'd up

up his Youth in all thoſe Sciences which his tender Age was capable of: But the Lad, beſides a great docility of Wit, had an extraordinary ſweetneſs of Aſpect and Elocution; ſo that he not only quickly apprehended what was taught him, but pronounc'd it too with a very agreeable cadence. Theſe Attainments ſo early diſcloſing themſelves, got him an high Reputation, and dazl'd his Cotemporaries; for he gave brighter hopes of himſelf, then thoſe other Young Gentlemen who were his School-Fellows could look ſtedily upon; ſo that his forwardneſs of Example piqu'd them all with generous incitements. Amongſt whom were *L. Torquatus*, *C. Marius*, *Caius* his Son, and *M. Cicero*, whom he ſo gain'd to him by the obliging air of his Converſation, that no Perſon was always ſo dear to them as He himſelf. His Father died in a little time, and he being very young, run a great hazard, by reaſon of his being related to *P. Sulpitius*, who was kill'd when he was Tribune of the People; For *Anicia* who was Coſin German to *Pomponius*, Married *Servius* who was Brother to *Sulpitius*; therefore, after *Sulpitius* was ſlain, and he ſaw the City

Embaraſs'd

Embaraſs'd with the Commotions of *Cinna*, ſo that he could not live with that Port which became his Quality, for the Intereſts of the Citizens were divided, ſome addicting themſelves to the Faction of *Cinna*, and others to that of *Sylla*, thinking it a fair opportunity to follow his Studies, He went to *Athens*; But this did not hinder, but that he beſtow'd Money upon young *Marius*, who was declar'd an Enemy to his Country, and ſupply'd him when he was a Fugitive; and that his withdrawing from *Rome* might not prejudice his Domeſtick Affairs, He convey'd the greateſt part of his Fortune along with him thither. Here he liv'd after that manner, that he was peculiarly belov'd by all the *Athenians*; For, beſides the Credit He had acquir'd, which was very great for a Young-Man, He releiv'd them in their Publick Exigents; for when they were to take up Money of the Bankers upon any great Payments, and could not obtain equitable Conditions, He always ſo ſeaſonably interpos'd, that, as he demanded no intereſt for the ſums he diſburs'd, ſo he would not let them owe longer then the time they promis'd to refund them; and this procur'd them a

double advantage, for he would neither ſuffer the Debt to grow upon them by his forbearance, nor the Uſury of it to be multiplied. He made an acceſſion to this Courteſy by another peice of Liberality, for he diſtributed Corn amongſt them all, and gave to each of them ſix buſhels of Wheat, which ſort of meaſure is call'd *Medimnus* by the *Athenians*; Here his carriage was ſo adjuſted, that as He was familiar to thoſe below him, ſo He was equal to thoſe of the firſt Quality. This had that grateful influence upon them, that they would have Confer'd all the Honors upon him they poſſibly could, and made him a Citizen; but this offer he refus'd, becauſe according to ſome Men's opinion; He that is made a Denizon of another City, forfeits the Freedom of his own. Whilſt he liv'd amongſt them, he always oppos'd their deſign of Erecting a Statue to him, but he could not hinder it when he was gone; ſo that in his abſence, they Celebrated the Memories of him and *Pilia* his Wife, by this laſting ſort of remembrance, even in the moſt Conſecrated places of the City; for in every Concern of the Commonwealth, they always followed his

his Conduct and Advice; therefore it was a partiality of Fortune to him, to be a Native of *Rome*, which was the Seat of the Empire of the World, and that which was his Country was his Miſtreſs too, to whom he was Conſtant in his Obſervances; and it was a Glorious inſtance of his Wiſedom, that when He went to *Athens*, which claims the Preeminence above all other Cities for Antiquity, Humanity, and Learning, they ſhould make choice of him amongſt all Mankind to be their Darling. When *Sylla* came here out of *Aſia*, as long as he tarried, He had always Young *Atticus* in his Company, for he was extremely charm'd with his good Parts, and the ſweetneſs of his humor; for He ſpoke *Greek* ſo perfectly, that He ſeem'd to be born in *Athens*, and had that delicious fluency in the *Latin* Tongue, that it was very apparent, that the ſmoothneſs of it was Natural to him and not Acquir'd; He would repeat Poems in both theſe Languages, ſo that nothing could exceed him; this ſo endear'd him to *Sylla*, that he would ſcarce let him be out of his ſight, and he had a great deſire to have brought him away along with him,

but when he endeavor'd to perſwade him to it, *Pomponius* return'd him this anſwer; *Do not, Sir, carry me to Fight againſt thoſe, upon whoſe account I left* Italy, *that I might not bear Arms againſt thy ſelf*; But *Sylla* praiſing the Young Man for the good Offices He had done him, order'd when He went away, that the Preſents which were given him whilſt he was at *Athens* ſhould be carried to his Houſe, as the tokens of his thankfulneſs. Here He remain'd many years, and tho He beſtow'd as much inſpection upon the Affairs of his Houſe, as became the diligence of one that was Maſter of a Family, and ſpent the reſt of his time either in Study or managing the buſineſs of the *Athenians*, yet He continu'd his kindneſs to his Fellow-Citizens; For He Canvaſs'd at all their Public Elections, and when any thing of importance was Tranſacted, He was never wanting in his ſolicitations. To *Cicero* He ſhew'd himſelf ſingularly faithful in his laſt extremities, for when He was forc'd to abandon his Country, He gave him *two hundred and fifty thouſand *Seſterces*; But when all theſe Turbulencies were quieted, and the *Tybur* ran calmly, He return'd

* Two thouſand eighty three Pounds ſix ſhillings and eight pence, *Engliſh Sterling.*

return'd home, and as I think when *L. Cotta* and *L. Torquatus* were Conſuls. The day of his departure, the whole City of *Athens* ſo deplor'd, that by the tears of their ſorrow they expreſs'd the greatneſs of the love they had for him; He had an Uncle whoſe name was *Q. Cæcilius*, a *Roman* Knight, an intimate friend of *L. Lucullus's*, and very Rich, but he was otherwiſe of a moroſe Nature, and difficult to be pleas'd; but *Atticus* ſo ſoftned his temper, which was intolerable to every one elſe, that He gain'd his good will, and retain'd it even to a decrepit Age; and then He reap'd the fruits of that Piety, with which He cultivated his ſower humor, for He adopted him and made him Heir to all that he had; which Inheritance amounted to ten * millions of *Seſterces*. The Siſter of *Atticus* was Married to *Q. Tullius Cicero*, and *Marcus* his Brother was a great promoter of the match; Between whom and *Atticus* there was a familiarity, even from their being School-Fellows together, and a cloſer friendſhip maintain'd then with *Quintius*; that from hence we may form a judgement, that in the Unions of that Society, the reſemblance of a like diſpoſition

* Eighty three thouſand three hundred thirty three Pounds ſix ſhillings, eight pence, *Sterl.*

prevails more then Affinity; *Hortenſius* too was his boſome-freind, who at that time had the cheif vogue for Eloquence, ſo that it was a matter utterly undecided, which lov'd him beſt, either him or *Cicero*; by this means he ſolv'd an inconſiſtence in theſe two Orators, which was a thing not eaſy to be attempted, for tho there was a ſtrong Contraſt betwixt them for Applauſe, yet they never broke out into any revilings of one another, but both agreed in eſteeming him. He ſo Comported himſelf in the Commonwealth, that as He was always of the beſt ſide, ſo He had the luck to be thought ſo. But He never was a party in the Civil Wars, for it was his opinion, that thoſe who embarque in quarrels of that nature, have no more Aſcendant over themſelves when the Waves of Sedition work high, then thoſe who commit their Fortunes to a Tempeſt. He never was ambitious of any Honor, tho the acceſs was eaſy to his pretenſions, not only by reaſon of his Credit but his Quality; He ſaw that Men were not ſo fair Candidates for it as their Fore-Fathers, they being ſo profuſe in their Bribes to gain Votes, that the Offices of the Commonwealth

wealth could not be undertaken, and the Laws kept inviolate, nor could they be diſcharg'd without danger, there being ſuch a general corruption of Manners, which Epidemically run through all the City. He never was a purchaſer of any goods that were ſold by outcry, and as He never farmed any of the Public Revenues, ſo He never was a Surety for them who did. He never manag'd a Criminal Proceſs againſt any one, nor ſubſcrib'd to anothers Accuſation; for He never went to Law, nor had ever any difinitive Sentence; When many Conſuls and Pretors offer'd him Governments, He would not follow any of them into their Provinces, but contenting himſelf with the Honor of the Propoſal, He rejected the profits of it; He denied to go with *Q. Cicero* into *Aſia*, tho he might have been his Lieutenant-General; for He did not think it decent to be in ſubordinate Authority to a Pretor, who had refus'd the firſt Dignity it ſelf; and by this means, He not only Conſulted his Honor, but his eaſe likewiſe, and avoided the leaſt umbrages of a Crime, that He might live unſuſpected; the reſult of this Caution was, that the aſſiſtances he paid his

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wealth could not be undertaken, and the Laws kept inviolate, nor could they be discharg'd without danger, there being such a general corruption of Manners, which Epidemically run through all the City. He never was a purchaser of any goods that were sold by outcry, and as He never farmed any of the Public Revenues, so He never was a Surety for them who did. He never manag'd a Criminal Process against any one, nor subscrib'd to anothers Accusation; for He never went to Law, nor had ever any difinitive Sentence; When many Consuls and Pretors offer'd him Governments, He would not follow any of them into their Provinces, but contenting himself with the Honor of the Proposal, He rejected the profits of it; He denied to go with *Q. Cicero* into *Asia*, tho he might have been his Lieutenant-General; for He did not think it decent to be in subordinate Authority to a Pretor, who had refus'd the first Dignity it self; and by this means, He not only Consulted his Honor, but his ease likewise, and avoided the least umbrages of a Crime, that He might live unsuspected; the result of this Caution was, that the assistances he paid his

freinds were the more acceptable, because they were ſincere, when they were the effects only of a readineſs to oblige, and could not be imputed to ſuch ſervile motives as Hope and Fear. When He was about ſixty years old, the Civil War of *Cæſar* burſt out into a flame; but He enjoy'd the priviledge his Age indulg'd him, and never ſtir'd out of the City; But thoſe of his freinds who went over to *Pompey's* ſide, He furniſh'd their Expeditions out of his own Store; but *Pompey* could not think He was diſregarded, if he did not actually joyn him Himſelf, for he had not receiv'd any advantages from him, which might encourage him to it, as others had done, who by his countenancing them were become Powerful and Rich; ſome of whom followed his Camp, but with regret and very unwillingly, and others ungratefully tarried at home, which very highly offended him. But the Neutrality of *Atticus* was ſo grateful to *Cæſar*, that when he was Conqueror, and diſpatch'd Imperious Mandates to private Perſons to Command their Mony from them, He not only not moleſted him, but pardon'd his Siſter's Son which ſhe had by *Quintius*, tho he was of *Pompey's*

pey's party; thus by keeping firm to thoſe firſt maximes of Conduct He laid down for the regulation of his Life, He preſerv'd himſelf ſafe from all new and emergent dangers; conſequent to this, when *Cæſar* was ſlain, and the Commonwealth ſeem'd to be devolv'd into the hands of *Caſſius* and *Brutus*, the Fortune of *Rome* like a Machine turning about toward him; yet He ſo Careſs'd *Brutus*, that the Young-Man never delighted in any ones Company, tho He was of the ſame Age with himſelf, with that pleaſure as He did in that of the Venerable *Atticus*; for He not only admitted him into his moſt intimate Councels, but enjoy'd his Converſation at all his Repaſtes. There was a project ſet on foot, that a fund of Treaſure ſhould be Conſtituted by the *Roman* Knights for the Murderers of *Cæſar*; they thought the deſign very feeſible, if the Cheif of that Order, would Contribute their ſhares towards it; whereupon *C. Flavius* who was a great freind to *Brutus*, apply'd himſelf to *Atticus*, that He would be a principal mover in this Buſineſs; but He, who did courteſies to thoſe He reſpected, without engageing in their Factions, and had always a Temper untainted

tainted from designes of that Nature, made this answer, that if *Brutus* wanted any supplies, He would Accommodate him out of his own Mony to what value he pleas'd, but that he would never discourse with any Man about the Business, nor accord with him in it; so that the united sentiments of a whole party were ruin'd by his single dissent. A little while after *Anthony* began to have the upper-hand, and *Brutus* and *Cassius* (the Affairs of those Provinces which were given them by the Consuls, only for form-sake, becoming desperate) were forc'd to fly for it. But *Atticus* who never employ'd his Mony to support the other party, when they were most flourishing, sent an * hundred thousand *Sesterces* to *Brutus* when he left *Italy*, and was broken in his Fortunes; and when He was at *Epire*, He order'd * 300 thousand more to be given him, himself being Absent; and as He never the more flatter'd the Power of *Anthony*, so He never forsook those who were brought to a Precipice. After this followed the War of *Modena*, in which if I should only call him Prudent, I should detract from his Character, and speak less then I ought to do. He was rather Divine,

* Eight hundred thirty three Pound six shillings eight pence, *Sterl.*
* Two thousand five hundred Pounds *Sterl.*

Divine, if a Conſtant Natural Goodneſs deſerves that Appellation, which is neither ſhaken nor leſſen'd by outward accidents; *Anthony* being declar'd a Public Enemy, was forc'd to leave *Italy*, and there was no hopes of being Reſtor'd; for not only his Adverſaries which were very many, and in a great Power Combin'd againſt him, but his Freinds joyn'd themſelves to that number, and Revolted from him; they placed all their hopes of Advancement upon his Depreſſion; they perſecuted his moſt intimate Freinds, they endeavor'd to ſpoil his Wife *Fulvia* of all her goods, and extirpate his Children. *Atticus* as He was familiar with *Cicero*, ſo He was a great freind to *Brutus*; by this means He not only reſtrain'd them from committing any outrage upon *Anthony* himſelf, but He Protected as many of his Confederates which fled out of the City, as much as He poſſibly could, and ſupply'd them with all things they ſtood in need of. He was ſo kind to *P. Volumnius*, that greater tenderneſs could not be expected from a Father; and He was ſo diligent in his ſervices to *Fulvia* when ſhe was harraſs'd with Law-Suits, and vex'd with melancholy apprehenſions,

prehenſions, that ſhe never enter'd into ony Obligation without *Atticus*, for He was her Stipulator in every thing; particularly when in her proſperous Condition ſhe had bought a parcel of Land, which was to be ſatisfied for to a day, and now ſince this Calamity befell her, could not take up Caſh enough upon her own credit to diſcharge the purchaſe; *Atticus* came in opportunely to redreſs the greivance, for He lent her Mony without intereſt, or ſo much as prefixing a day when it ſhould be repayed; for He reckon'd himſelf the greateſt gainer by the Reputation of a grateful and an obliging Man; and thereby make it appear, that He did not Contract an acquaintance with Mens Fortunes but their Perſons. And tho theſe were his Actions, yet no one could imagine He did them out of any temporiſing principle; for it could not rationally enter into any one's opinion, that *Anthony* would ever recover that game of Empire He ſeem'd ſo utterly to have loſt; but every now and then He receiv'd ſecret checks from ſome of the Nobility, objecting to him, that his hatred was not intenſe enough againſt ſuch profligate Citizens. But He confiding in his own Judgment,

Judgment, had a regard rather to what ought to be done, then what other Men would commend, whether it was right or no. For the ſcene of Fortune ſwiftly chang'd, and when *Anthony* return'd into *Italy*, every one was in pain for *Atticus*; for they thought He muſt be involv'd in great riſques, by reaſon of the ſtrict Communication that was between him and *Brutus*, and *Cicero*; therefore when the Triumvirate approach'd the City, He went out of it, for He fear'd Proſcription, and abſconded in the Houſe of *P. Volumnius*, to whom He was ſo Eminently Serviceable, as we have ſhew'd before. So Capricious was the turn of Affairs in thoſe times, that ſometimes one party and ſometimes another, would either be in the height of Proſperity, or the Abyſs of Misfortune. He was not alone in this Retirement, but *Q. Gellius Canius* who was of the ſame Age, and reſembled Him in the Cuſtomes of his Life, was the Companion of his Obſcurity; and this is another inſtance of the good nature of *Atticus*, that He liv'd ſo lovingly with him whom He knew from his Childhood, and was his Play-fellow, for their freindſhip grew up with their years,

years, and laſted even to an extreme old Age. *Anthony*, tho He was ſo inveterately angry with *Cicero*, that He not only declar'd open enmity againſt Him, but threatn'd all his Abettors, and was reſolv'd to Proſcribe them; yet when many made Remonſtrances to Him in the behalf of *Atticus*, and He himſelf call'd to mind the Engagements He had formerly laid upon him, He as ſuddenly Relented; ſo that He Writ to him with his own hand to know where he was, bid him not be afraid, but that he ſhould immediately come to Him, for that He had ſtruck him and *Gellius Canius* out of the number of the Proſcrib'd; Beſides He ſent him a Guard to aſſure him in the darkneſs, and free him from the dangers of the Night; by this means his fears were diſpers'd, and He not only ſecur'd himſelf, but was an inſtrument of ſafety to the Man who was next dear to Him. For He never ſolicited to be out of trouble alone, but in Conjunction with his freind, that by this it might appear, that Men who love one another are not to be divided in their Fortunes. If that Pilot therefore deſerves applauſe who ſteers his Ship in a Winter Sea, when the Seaſon is as rough

rough as the Ocean, why ſhould not his Prudence merit a particular Encomium, who arriv'd at ſafety through ſo many Civil broils and ſuch Storms in the State? When He had work'd himſelf out of theſe diſtreſſes, He was intent upon nothing elſe then how He might Aſſiſt as many as he could, and in what things He was able. When the Triumverate ſet a price upon the heads of the Proſcrib'd, that the proſpect of a reward might encourage the Rabble to a ſearch, there was not any one who fled into *Epire* who wanted for any thing; and He gave them liberty to make it their perpetual Reſidence; beſides, after the Battel at *Philippæ*, and the Slaughter of *C. Caſſius* and *M. Brutus*, He was reſolv'd to ſhelter *L. Julius Mocilla* the Pretor, and his Son *Aulus Torquatus*, and the reſt who were beaten down with the ſame ſtroke of Fortune; and He Commanded likewiſe ſupplies to be ſent them when they Retir'd out of *Epire* into *Samothracia*. It is very hard, and indeed not neceſſary, to run minutely through all his Actions, this only I contend for, and vvhich ought to be underſtood, that his Liberality vvas not cover'd over vvith any

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any Sinister design, nor was it to humor the present current of Affairs; this may be concluded from the things themselves, and the Complexion of those times; for He never sided with the Prosperous, but always succour'd those who were in affliction; for He was as Assiduous in his respects to *Servilia* the Mother of *Bratus* after the Death of her Son, as when he was living and most happy. Being so Generous He could not well provoke any one to be his Enemy, for He never offer'd an injury, and if another was the Agressor upon Him, He chose rather to forget then Revenge the Affront; If He receiv'd a Civility the impression of it was Immortal, never to be effac'd; but if He confer'd one, it easily fell out of his mind, till He that was oblig'd renew'd the memory of it by his acknowledgments; doing after this manner, He confirm'd the truth of that saying, *That every one owes his lucky hits to the Conduct of himself*; but the making his Fortune, was the last thing in his Intention, He first form'd his Manners as a previous Qualification, and with such an exquisite niceness, that He might not justly be charg'd with any thing

that

that was culpable. By this means it came to paſs, that when *M. Vipſanius Agrippa*, who was the Favourite of young *Octavius*, might have had his choice out of the Ladies of the beſt Condition in *Rome*, by reaſon of his own Credit and the Power of *Cæſar*, yet He was ambitious of being related to Him, and deſir'd rather to marry the Daughter of a *Roman* Knight, as the nobler Alliance; The cheif Menager of this Match (for it is not to be conceal'd) was *Anthony*, who was one of the Triumvirate for ſetling the Commonwealth. Being ſhin'd upon by his favor, He might have made large Additions to his Eſtate, but He was ſo little infected with the love of Mony, that He never us'd it but in thoſe occaſions where his freind was to be freed from danger, and eas'd of any thing that incommoded him. An illuſtrious inſtance of this was in the time of the Proſcription; for when the Triumvirate had ſold the Goods of *L. Saufeius* a *Roman* Knight, according to the cuſtom which then obtain'd, who was of the ſame Age with himſelf, had Reſided many years at *Athens* to Study Philoſophy, and had noble Lordſhips in *Italy*; *Atticus* carried Himſelf in this buſineſs, with ſo much

Industry and Addreſs, that the ſame Meſſenger who brought him word that He had loſt his Patrimony contradicted his own news, by telling him, that He had recover'd it again. He likewiſe clear'd off *L. Julius Calidius*, who I am bold to affirm, after the death of *Lucretius* and *Catullus*, was the moſt Elegant Poet of his time; He was no leſs famous for the integrity of his Morals, and his being Educated in all the beſt Arts; This Man after the Knights were Proſcrib'd, tho He was abſent, yet He was brought into the number by *P. Volumnius*, who was Overſeer of the Workmen of *Anthony*; and his great Poſſeſſions in *Africk* made him obnoxious to this puniſhment; So that it made it a puzling queſtion, whether there was more difficulty in the undertaking, or Glory in the performance. But it was a Character of *Atticus* generally known, that it was his care as much to releive his abſent Freinds as thoſe that were preſent; and He was as good a Father of a Family as He was a Citizen; for tho He was a great Monied-Man, yet no one was ſo moderate a Purchaſer, nor Built leſs then He did; not but that he liv'd very Commodiouſly, and what things He ſerv'd himſelf of, they were the beſt

of

of their kind. His Houſe was Situate in the *Quirinal* Hill, which was an Inheritance left him by his Uncle, whoſe pleaſantneſs did not conſiſt in the Curioſity of the Structure, but in the Wood that encompaſs'd it; for being a Pile rais'd after the antient manner, it had more of conveniency in it then beauty; and He never made any Alterations, but where the decays by the injury of time requir'd to be repair'd; His Family, if we judge of them by their uſefulneſs, was extraordinary; but if we regard only the outward appearance, it was ſcarce tolerable; for it was made up of Lads who were very good Scholars, could read excellently well, and writ delicate hands for Tranſcribing, and there was ſcarce any Foot-boy but could do either of them to admiration. All the Artificers too, whoſe Art was neceſſary for the Adorning his Apartments, were the choiſeſt of their Profeſsion. And there was not one of them but was born and run through the Novitiate of their ſeveral Trades in his Houſe; which was a ſign not only of his moderation but great induſtry; for not to be intemperate in our deſires after thoſe things which others ſo eagerly covet, is a great

continency of temper; and to acquire that by diligence which others are at an expence for, argues a more then ordinary Application. *Atticus* was rather Polite then Magnificent; He did all things for his Honor, but without any exceſs of coſt; He was always clean and neat, but did not affect an Effeminate niceneſs. As for his Moveables and Furniture they were Competently Rich, and did not abound; ſo that He avoided the two extremes of being ſtingy and profuſe. I will not omit one thing, tho to ſome it may ſeem a matter of light importance, that tho He was one of the moſt Splendid of the *Roman* Knights, and receiv'd Men of all conditions at his Houſe with a Liberal Hoſpitality, yet He ſpent no more then juſt * three thouſand Aſſes a month, as appears by the regiſter of his Diſburſements; and this I do not ſpeak by hearſay, but as a thing I am certain of; for by reaſon of the familiarity betwixt us, I was Converſant in the Family, and was at the caſting up of the Accounts. He had no other Conſort at all his Feaſts but only a ſingle Reader, which in my opinion was the moſt raviſhing Muſick; nor did he ever Sup without one of theſe Lectures; that whilſt

*Equivalent to ten Pounds *Sterl.*

whilſt their Appetites were Regaled the minds of the Gueſts might be entertain'd with ſomething more diverting; for He never invited any one to his Table but in whom he diſcern'd a diſpoſition conformable to his own. Tho Riches flow'd in upon him, yet He never heightned his daily Proviſions, nor deviated from the former meaſures of his Life; for He was ſo moderate that when He was worth but * twenty hundred thouſand *Seſterces*, He did not Live inglorioufly, which was the Eſtate left him by his Father, ſo when it amounted to * ten millions, He did not raiſe his Port to any greater Affluence then what He firſt deſign'd; for He kept inalterarably to the ſame pitch in either fortune. As for his other Recreations, He had no Gardens with Parterres, nor no delightful place to take the air in the Suburbs; He had no Sumptuous *Villa* near the Seaſhore, nor indeed in all *Italy*, except it were at *Ardea* and *Nomentum*, which were only two Country-farms; And all the Revenues He had conſiſted in the Lands He had at *Epire*, and ſome Poſſeſſions in the City; from whence it may be known, that He did not make his eſtimate of Mony by the immenſe

* Sixteen thouſand ſix hundred ſixty ſix pounds thirteen ſhillings and four pence *Sterling*.

* The ſum total is one hundred thouſand Pounds *Sterl* For theſe reductions of the *Roman* Coin to the *Engliſh* Standard, I am oblig'd to the Learned Mr. *Wa*t.

quantity, but the rational uſe of it. As He was always a Man of ſtrict veracity himſelf, ſo He abhor'd lying in another; therefore his courteſy was mix'd with ſomewhat that was Auſtere, and He was Affable but Grave; ſo that it was hard to ſay, whether His Freinds Lov'd or Reverenc'd him moſt; whatever was entreated of him He would promiſe ſolemnly to do it, for it was his opinion that he was not a generous but an inconſtant Man, who would engage for that which He was not able to perform. He was ſo induſtrious in bringing an affair to a reſult which he had once eſpous'd, that He ſeem'd to Tranſact his own concern and not anothers, which was deputed to his Management; and when he had once undertaken a buſineſs, He was unwearied in his purſuits, for he thought his Reputation was Intereſs'd in it, of which he was jealous even to a delicacy; By this means He ſolicited the buſineſs of *Marcus* and *Quintius Cicero*, of *Marius*, *Cato*, *Hortenſius*, *Aulus Torquatus*, and many other *Roman* Knights; from whence we may infer, that it was an effect of his judgement, and did not proceed from any unactive temper, that he declin'd the publick Functions of the Com-

Commonwealth. A greater inſtance of the Complaiſance of his humor cannot be given then this, that when he was a Young-Man He was very agreeable to *Sylla* who was in the decline of his Age, and when himſelf was old *M. Brutus* extremely delighted in Him who was in the bloom of his years; He liv'd ſo amicably with his Cotemporaries *Hortenſius* and *Cicero*, that it is hard to ſay to which Age his Genius was moſt adapted; but *Cicero* Lov'd him the moſt fervently of the two, for it was to the laſt degree of affection; ſo that his Brother *Quintius* was not dearer or more familiar to Him; the real evidences of it, beſides thoſe Books in which he makes mention of him, which are already publiſh'd, are thoſe ſixteen Volumes of Epiſtles which He ſent to *Atticus* from the beginning of his Conſulſhip even to his latter days, which whoſoever reads he will not deſire a more Connected Hiſtory of thoſe times; for in them the inclinations and deſigns of Princes, the faults of Generals in their Conduct, and the Revolutions of the Commonwealth, are ſo perſpicuouſly trac'd out, that all the intrigues of State are unravell'd, and the ſprings of Policy ſeem to ly open;

ſo that from hence we may conclude, that Prudence is a ſort of Divination; For *Cicero* not only pointed out all the accidents of his own time, but with a briſker heat of Propheſy foretold all the events which have happen'd ſince, and we ſenſibly experience. What need I Commemorate any thing more of the Piety of *Atticus*? When I heard Him Glorying thus juſtly of Himſelf, in the Funeral Oration He made upon his Mother, whom He buried at ninety years of Age, Himſelf being ſixty-ſeven, that He never had any occaſion to be reconcil'd to Her, and no difference ever happen'd betwixt Him and his Siſter, who was almoſt of the ſame Age with Himſelf; which are manifeſt indications, either that no cauſes of Diſſatisfaction ever aroſe between them, and ſo there was no need of Cement where nothing was broken; or that He was ſo kind to his Relations, that He thought it even a peice of Irreligion to be angry with thoſe whom He had all the obligations upon Him to Love. And this He did not ſo much by the tender inſtinct of Nature, whoſe ſuggeſtions we are all obſequious to, but it was the effect of his Learning, and He acquir'd it by Study;

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for the Precepts of the cheif Philoſophers were cloſely impreſs'd upon him, and they did not ſerve for Parade and oſtentation, but He made them uſeful to him in the whole courſe of his Life. He ſet the Manners of the antient *Romans* before him as the patterns of his imitation, and fairly copied out the great Originals; He was likewiſe a Studious Lover of Antiquity; this knowledge he intimately convers'd with, and gave large demonſtrations of it in the Volume He Wrote of Magiſtracy, which was a Province He ingeniouſly adorn'd; for there was not a Law made, no Peace concluded, nor no War undertaken, not an Action of Conſequence done by the *Roman* People, but He hath related it with a ſtrict Chronology, and adjuſted every occurrence to its proper time; and which ſeems an attempt of great intricacy, He hath interwoven in it the Pedigrees of ſome Families, with ſo fine a texture, that by them we may know the beginnings of thoſe Men who have made any conſiderable Figure in *Rome*. He did the ſame thing ſeparately in other Books; as at the entreaty of *M. Brutus*, He deriv'd the *Junian* Family from its firſt Source, and ſhew'd all the Channels in which

which it hath flow'd down even to our times; distinctly numbring each one's Predecessor in a true series of Succession, and relating what Honors they attain'd to, and in what times they enjoy'd them; He did the like courtesy for *Marcellus Claudius* concerning the *Marcelli*; and at the instances of *Scipio Cornelius* and *Fabius Maximus*, He gave an account of the *Cornelian*, the *Fabian*, and the *Emilian* Families; and nothing carries with it so endearing a relish as these Books to those who have the least tincture of curiosity to be acquainted with the descents of Illustrious Men; He had a smattering too in Poetry, which I believe was, that He might not be ignorant what sweetness there was in it; for if any had arriv'd to a higher pitch of Dignity beyond the ordinary *Romans*, or had signaliz'd themselves by any notable performances, He employ'd his Poetical Talent to Record their Gallantry; for He describ'd their Exploits, and what Charges they had in the Government under each of their Pictures, and this in no more then four or five Verses, which seems a thing almost incredible, that He could comprise transactions of such high moment in so narrow a compass.

compaſs. He Writ a Book alſo in *Greek* concerning the Conſulſhip of *Cicero*. Theſe things we have related of him were whilſt *Atticus* was alive; but now ſince the malignity of fate will have us to outlive Him, we will run through the reſt of his Actions and diſpatch what remains of this Great Man; that by real and bright examples, we may inſtruct the Reader, and ſo confirm that axiome we have before laid down, *That every one allures Fortune to his ſide according as He manageth himſelf*; for *Atticus* contenting himſelf with the Paternal Dignity of a Knight which deſcended to him, He at laſt came to be related to the Son of *Julius*, and the friendſhip between them was heightned into Affinity; for He had before gain'd the confidence of *Auguſtus* by the elegancy of his Living; and this was the inducement by which He attracted others of the cheifeſt rank in the City to his Converſation, who were of as Noble an Extraction as the Emperor, but their condition was unequal, becauſe not ſo proſperous; for Fortune ſeem'd to fawn upon *Cæſar*, and ſo conſtant a ſucceſs ſtill followed him, that all the Honors ſhe ever decreed to any of her Favourites, ſhe confer'd

confer'd upon Him, and with her Auſpicious gales convey'd Him to the utmoſt Honor which the ambition of a Citizen could aſpire to. *Agrippa* made *Atticus* a Grandfather, who married his Daughter when ſhe was a tender Virgin; this Female-Infant, tho ſhe was ſcarce a year old, *Cæſar* betroth'd to *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, which his Wife *Druſilla* had by a former Husband, and was his Son-in-Law; this Alliance confirm'd their former Amity, and tied it on with an inviolable Sanction. Tho before theſe Eſpouſals, not only when He was abſent from *Rome*, when he writ to any of his Freinds, He ſent to *Atticus* even the minutes of his Life, as what he was then doing, eſpecially what Author he was reading, in what place He reſided, and how long he deſign'd to tarry there; but likewiſe when He was in the City, and was diſtracted by multiplicity of buſineſs, which gave him ſo great Avocations, that He could not enjoy him ſo often as he would, yet the commerce of the Pen was not interrupted, for no day paſs'd in which He did not by Letter ask his opinion in ſome matters relating to Antiquity, or propoſe ſome Poetical queſtion; ſometimes He would be facetious

cetious only and rally him, that the anſwers in which He Reparteed might be the more prolix which had this good effect, that when the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, which *Romulus* built in the Capitol, through Age and Peoples being incurious of its repairs, began to threaten a total ruin, *Cæſar* by the perſwaſion of *Atticus* took care to ſupport it. *M. Anthony* had him in no leſs paſſionate eſteem, and maintain'd an intercourſe with him of this nature; for when he was baniſh'd even to the extreme limits of the Empire, yet He certified his *Atticus* to a nice punctilio of what he was then upon, and what deſign He had in farther Projection; He only is qualified to judge of the greatneſs of this Correſpondence, who can make a true eſtimate what a peice of Conſummate Wiſdom it is to retain the favor, and reconcile the jealouſies of two great Perſonages, who were Competitors in the ſame Ambition, betwixt whom there was not only a bare Emulation, but a perfect Antipathy, which kindled into the mutual upbraiding one another; it was an Averſion as ſtrong as could poſsibly be between an *Anthony* and a *Cæſar*, who would not divide the Globe, but each one contended not only

to

to be Maſter of *Rome*, but Emperor of the World. Through all theſe Traverſes of Life, He at laſt arriv'd to the ſeventy-ſeventh year, and his Credit and Riches multiplied upon him even to an extreme old Age; (for many left him all that they had, purely upon the account of his wonderful Goodneſs.) But now after He had been of ſo ſtrong a Complexion that he had no need of a Phyſitian for thirty years together, his health was ſo entire, He at laſt contracted a Diſeaſe which Himſelf and his Doctors at firſt deſpis'd as a very ſlight indiſpoſition, for they thought it to be a * *Tenesmus*, therefore they adminiſtred quick and eaſy applications, to diſperſe it in its firſt acceſſes. After He had languiſh'd three months, without any more ſenſible uneaſineſs then what He receiv'd from the methods of his cure, the whole weight of his diſtemper ſunk at laſt into one of his guts, which broke out afterwards into a very putrid Fiſtula; But before this Criſis hapned to Him, when he found his pains to encreaſe and his blood grow warm, He order'd his Son-in-Law *Agrippa* to be ſent for, with *L. Cornelius Balbus* and *Sextus Peducæus*; when He ſaw that they

* This is a fruitleſs endeavor of nature to eaſe her ſelf, occaſion'd by a deflexion of ſharp humors, the which irritate the Sphincter of the Anus.

they were come, leaning upon his Couch he ſpoke to them after this manner; *What care I have taken for the preſervation of my health, ſince you all can abundantly atteſt, a diſcourſe of that nature will be altogether ſuperfluous; Hoping therefore that I have given you ſatisfaction, and being Conſcious to my ſelf, that I have omitted nothing which carried the leaſt tendency in it towards a cure; it only remains now that I more nearly conſult my ſelf, and this is the thing I would acquaint you with, that I am reſolv'd no longer to nouriſh my diſeaſe but ſtarve it; for the ſuſtenance I have taken theſe laſt days hath protracted my Life indeed, but it hath prolong'd my afflictions with it, without any hopes of recovery. I therefore beg it of you, that you would firſt approve of my expedient, and then uſe no arguments to diſſwade me from it, for it will be all in vain.* He ſpoke this with ſuch a ſtrong voice, and ſuch an aſſur'd Countenance, as if He was not leaving the World, but paſſing from one Houſe into another. But *Agrippa* with tears in his eyes kiſſing him, did not only entreat but earneſtly Conjur'd him not to Accelerate his fate himſelf, but let nature bring it leiſurely upon him;

and

and ſince there were remains of health which would in Life keep ſome time longer, that He would ſuffer himſelf to ſurvive both for his own ſake and that of his Freinds; but He rejected his importunities with an obſtinate ſilence. Thus after two days rigid abſtinence his Feavor went of without any Paroxyſmes, and all the Symptomes were manifeſtly abated: but He thinking it not worth the while to live, would not recede from his firſt purpoſe, therefore the fifth day after he had taken up this fatal reſolution He departed this Life, which was the day before the Kalends of *April*, *L. Domitius* and *C. Soſius* being Conſuls. His body was brought forth in a Litter, as He himſelf had order'd, without any Funeral Pomp; but all the beſt Men of the City accompanied the Corps with a numerous Concourſe of the Common People; He was buried five miles from *Rome* by the *Appian* way, in the Monument of *Q. Cæcilius* his Uncle.

FINIS.